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## THE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

"I SUPPOSE," said Mr. Seth Low to me one day, "that this Conference is, after all, the nearest approach to the Parliament of Man that has ever yet been assembled."

The President of Columbia University did not exaggerate. The Conference at The Hague was a Parliament of Man representing, however imperfectly, the whole human race. The only independent ones not represented at the Huis ten Bosch were the South American republics, the Emperor of Morocco, the King of Abyssinia, and the Grand Lama of Tibet. That the South American republics were not represented is not the fault of the Russian Emperor. Mexico received and accepted an invitation. Brazil received, but rejected, the invitation to be present, and so did one other South American republic. The original Russian idea was to assemble representatives from every independent government in the world; nor did they even confine themselves to the secular governments. They were very anxious that the Pope should also be directly represented in this supreme assembly. Even with the Pope and South America left out, the Congress represented more of the world and its inhabitants than any similar assembly that has ever been gathered together for the work of international legislation. That circumstance in itself is sufficient to give distinction to the Conference at The Hague, which, it is expected, will be the forerunner of a series of conferences, each of which will aim at being more and more universally representative. On the eve of the twentieth century the human race has begun to federate itself. That is the su-

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preme significance of the assembly which has just spent two months in the capital of Holland.

The law of antithesis, not to say of paradox, meets us at every turn in daily life ; and it would have been absurd not to expect to find it at The Hague. The ideal of the Emperor found expression in the summoning of the representatives of China, Japan, Persia, Siam, Mexico, and all the minor states to sit in congress on an equality with the representatives of the greatest Powers. The actual force of reality, making itself felt on the Congress when assembled, has accentuated more than ever the inequality of the Powers—the supreme importance of some, the absolute unimportance of others.

The constitution of the Congress attested in the most forcible fashion the equality of all independent sovereign states. The net result of its work has been to demonstrate more forcibly than ever the fact, that in the affairs of this world it is only the great Powers which count, and that among the great Powers only the greatest speak with decisive voice. It is a remarkable instance of the centripetal tendency of mankind that it should be possible to find, that three-fourths of the human race is grouped together under twenty-five civil governments, and that these representatives should meet together in the Orange Hall of the House in the Wood. But the moment you examine the list of the Powers represented, you discover that many are Powers only in name. One, for instance, is the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, whose very existence has been so completely forgotten, that, until its delegates appeared at the Congress, nine men out of ten in Europe were ignorant of its existence. Montenegro, another, is so small that Russia represented it by proxy. Nor can the Siamese be regarded as constituting a distinct factor in the forces, the sum of which make up the working energy of the governments of the human race. So we may go on until we find, at last, that there are practically only three units in this Parliament of the World. There is the Franco-Russian Alliance, with its appurtenances, including Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Persia. There is the Triple Alliance, with its appurtenances in Servia, Roumania, Turkey, and Greece ; and third, there is the Anglo-American group, which, although not united in formal alliance, nevertheless constitutes an integer more homogeneous in race, religion, language, laws, and constitution than either of the other governing groups. Round the English-speaking group the free Western states are grouped ; that is to say, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Portugal. Spain and Mexico stand apart, as also do Japan and China.

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Japan showed a desire to be, as Baron Hayashi said, "in the movement;" and her delegates have taken intelligent part in the discussions, usually ranging themselves on the side of the Anglo-American group.

Spain, Mexico, and China may be regarded as three isolated Powers, whose influence on the Conference was nil. The Chinese delegate did not indeed even pretend to intervene in the affairs of the Western barbarians. He spent his time with his charming wife and delightful children on the seashore at Scheveningen. They constituted a quaint and interesting element in the *mise en scène* of the Conference; but you may search from Alpha to Omega of the *procès-verbaux* without finding any contribution to the debates from the Chinese delegate. China was treated, or rather elected to treat herself, as a *quantité négligeable;* and the most inquisitive of interviewers endeavored in vain to pry into the secret meditations of the smiling, but impassive, Oriental, who occasionally attended the meetings of the Conference, of whose debates he understood not a word.

You may take it, therefore, as one of the most tangible outcomes of the Conference, that it has compelled every one to realize more than ever that the destinies of the world are now controlled by three groups of Powers; that the only capitals of this planet are London, Washington, St. Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome. What these capitals decide will be done. It is a great triad; but it has never before been so conspicuously revealed before the eyes of the race, whose policies it controls.

The third feature of the Conference, and one which will have interest for American readers more than any other, is the fact that it marks the advent of the United States of America as a leading factor in the international affairs of the world. The Spanish-American war did not more conspicuously break down the old tradition of the fathers of the republic, by which the United States was to be the hermit crab or the Korea among the nations, than did the Conference at The Hague. Indeed, the Conference may be said to have marked even more conspicuously the début of Columbia on the world's stage. Cuba lay at your back door, and even the Philippines came in as a corollary to an operation of domestic police; but at The Hague all pretence that the great affairs of the world do not actively interest the rulers at Washington was flung to the winds. From the very opening of the Conference down to its close the American delegation showed that it was there for business—not for show—and that it was fully deter-

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mined to take its share, and perhaps even more than its share, in the business of the Parliament of the World.

At the same time, the American delegation was keenly alive to the danger of weakening in any way its testimony to the traditional doctrines of Washington and Monroe. Hence, toward the close of the Conference, the following declaration was solemnly read by one of the officials of the Conference in the name of the whole American delegation :

"The delegation of the United States of America, in signing the convention regulating the peaceable settlement of international conflicts as proposed by the International Peace Conference, makes the following declaration :—Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not entering upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or internal administration of any foreign State. Nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to require a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

This declaration was held to be specially necessary on account of the responsibility recognized in Article 27, of which more hereafter.

The American delegation was strongly constituted in its personnel ; but it was still more fortunate in the fact that its chief was *persona grata* at Berlin. But for Mr. White and his energetic and indefatigable junior lieutenant, Mr. Holls, the Anglo-American group would have had no confidential means of communication with the Triple. The Franco-Russian group communicated with the Kaiser through Count Welsersheimb ; but the Anglo-American group communicated only through the Americans. Mr. Holls, himself of German parentage, and speaking German as fluently as English, was an indispensable member of the Conference.

Mr. Holls had a great opportunity, which he used to the full. When the Comité d'Examen was constituted by the Arbitration Commission, it was never expected that its duties would become so important, and that it would practically come to be regarded as the very Cabinet of the Conference. It was constituted by the appointment of ex-officio presidents, and a number of jurists, who were usually the third or fourth members of their own delegations. Mr. Holls was sixth, but being the only lawyer, he was placed on the Committee. Between Mr. White and Mr. Holls there exists a great personal affection, and the elder uniformly made way for the younger. Mr. Holls became the sole representative of the Western Hemisphere on the Committee. He was the one man who was able to speak as a friend and almost as a compatriot of the Germans. Hence, when the difficulty arose with Germany,

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occasioned by the objections taken by the German Emperor to the constitution of a Tribunal of Arbitration, Mr. Holls was despatched to Berlin, along with Dr. Zorn ; and it was largely owing to his vigorous representations at the headquarters of the German Government that Germany gave way, and yielded reluctant consent to the establishment of an International Tribunal of Arbitration. It is also Mr. Holls to whom belongs the credit of introducing and carrying the clause which brings into international law the principle of special mediation.

The idea of this special mediation is, that when two Powers differ so much that war looms in sight, each should select a special Power as its best friend or second, and that these Powers should forthwith endeavor to mediate, with a view to the settlement of the dispute. If, however, their efforts should prove unavailing, then these said Powers were to continue to feel themselves saddled with the duty of interposing, at the earliest possible moment, to secure a cessation of hostilities and the restoration of peace. Mr. Holls's clause gives sanction to what may be regarded as an alliance for peace. Hitherto we have had alliances for war, defensive and offensive. It is an event of happy augury that we are now to have alliances for peace. It is an alliance on limited liability principles ; carrying with it no obligation to intervene in the fray, except as peacemakers. It is but a further development of the principle already partially recognized.

When the Spanish-American war broke out, Spain placed the protection of Spaniards in America in the hands of the French Embassy, while American subjects in Spain passed under the protection of the British Ambassador. If Mr. Holls's clause prescribing special mediation had been sanctioned before the war, in all probability Spain would have selected France as her second, while the United States would have made a similar arrangement with Great Britain. France and England would have been specially charged with the duty of ascertaining whether or not it was possible to arrive at a possible settlement before war broke out ; and after the first shot was fired, they would have been authorized to seize every opportunity of offering their friendly offices to bring the strife to a close.

The fourth feature of the Conference is the demonstration which it afforded of the absolute impossibility of any agreement among the three groups, as to the cessation of the unrestricted competition in armaments, which has brought several Powers to within hailing distance of bankruptcy. Of all the Powers represented England and Rus-

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sia alone showed any inclination to agree to a standstill—or what the Russians call the stabilization of the existing armaments. Russia utterly failed to carry with her even her own ally, France. Germany refused absolutely to listen to any proposal tending to restrain the increase of military and naval expenditure. England alone displayed a desire to accept the Russian overtures in relation to naval expenditure. For military purposes, only the Dual and Triple Alliances count. The Anglo-American group does not enter into the question as a serious factor; and between the chiefs of the Dual and Triple there was no prospect of an accord.

Every one, therefore, is wondering why the Russians, who must have foreseen the inability to secure general assent to their standstill proposal, should have exposed themselves to such a rebuff before the world. One of the delegates recently remarked: "The Russians are specially long-sighted. Although they are not clever, they are patient; and while others hurry, Russia waits. She will put her seed into the ground and wait for ten years, for twenty years, for two hundred years; knowing that the time will come when she will reap her harvest."

As I heard these words, they recalled to me as a curious coincidence the fact that at my last talk with the Emperor at Tsarskoye Selo, he had used almost exactly the same comparison. "We may not do much, this time," he said, "but it is seed put into the ground; and it will grow; and we shall reap the fruit hereafter." So far as Russia is concerned, she has already been able to garner good results. She stands before the world, and especially before the hungry millions of the European democracy, as the only great Power which is in revolt against the unending sacrifices which militarism exacts from its votaries.

Russia did not conduct her case at The Hague with much skill. There was a woful lack of solid preparation on the part of the Russian delegation, which, however, may be excused on the ground that its members, unused to parliamentary methods, were little qualified to hold their own in debate. But, although the Russians did not impress anybody with their smartness or debating power, they succeeded in producing a very general impression as to their sincerity and honesty. There was indeed something almost heroic in the attitude of the Russian delegates. They were sent to defend a cause in which they personally had but little belief; and they had to do so in an arena, with the laws and usages of which they were totally unacquainted. They did their duty loyally and to the best of their ability. It was done by

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order of the Emperor, just in the same spirit of unquestioning obedience with which the same set of men would have thrown themselves into a life-boat, to row to the rescue of a crew perishing among the breakers. They would probably have proved as little apt at the oars as they were in Committee. But there was something very fine in the child-like obedience that never allowed them to think of their ineptitude and inexperience as affording any reason why they should not do their best.

Parliamentarism may have many weak points, and it has certainly many disadvantages; but it carries with it one great benefit. It sharpens the wits of men; it accustoms them to express articulately and lucidly the ideas which they entertain; and it enables them to reply with rapidity and good temper to the onslaughts of their opponents. The Russians at the Conference were like fish out of water; and they suffered all the disadvantages which are insuperable when men are out of their natural element. Nevertheless, from M. de Staal downward, they impressed every one with their desire to carry out the wish of the Emperor. All the specific proposals which they made, in the way of limiting the introduction of improved weapons, were rejected; and their standstill proposal came to no immediate result. But take it as a whole, Russia has done well, and will reap the reward which well-doers are entitled to expect in an increase of their reputation among their neighbors, if not for supreme capacity, at least for honest sincerity of purpose and devotion to a noble end.

The actual work done by the Conference throws into the shade all that has been done by any Conference of the kind heretofore summoned. It has done the work of three special Conferences rolled into one. It has exhaustively revised the project for applying the rules of the Geneva Convention for the protection of those engaged in naval warfare. It has taken in hand the codification of the laws of war, and, after a long and exhaustive discussion, has adopted unanimously a set of rules which will probably be adopted by any belligerent in any future war. This is a matter of special interest to Americans; for the Russian initiative was avowedly due to the example of Abraham Lincoln, who led the way, in formulating the laws of war, by issuing rules for combatants. His example has borne fruit in the work of the Conference at The Hague. The revision of the Geneva Convention itself is relegated to another Conference, which will probably be held next year.

The question of the right of capture of private property at sea was

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brought forward by the American delegates ; but the Conference was indisposed to deal with this subject, which also will probably be relegated to a subsequent Conference if the United States Government can induce other Powers to meet together for reconsideration of the declaration of Paris.

A third Conference is looming in the distance ; and that is a Conference as to the rights and privileges of neutrals in time of war. The assembly at The Hague, therefore, has not only been fruitful in good work, but has laid the foundations of much good work to come.

The chief task accomplished by the Conference, however, and that by which it will live in history, has been the establishment of a system of international arbitration. It is quite true that the Conference has not bound all its members to refer any single subject of dispute to arbitration. But that was not to be expected. Those who have taken part in the negotiation of treaties of arbitration, between two Powers, are well aware of the difficulty of inducing possible disputants to bind themselves in advance to send their disputes to arbitration ; and they would be the last to criticise the Conference, because it did not attempt to induce all its members to be partners to a system of obligatory arbitration.

At one time there was hope that all disputes arising out of a long series of international conventions might be included in the category of subjects for obligatory arbitration. But the objection of Germany proved fatal, even to this modicum of compulsion ; and the tribunal as it stands is merely an international institution created for the convenience of such disputants as may wish to avail themselves of its services. There is no compulsion on the part of any Power to hale its adversary before the arbitrators. The institution is set up, the rules of its procedure are formulated, and a permanent staff is created all for the purpose of facilitating the immediate establishment of the tribunal whenever its services are required. The authors of the scheme are well content with their handiwork ; knowing that the increasing complexity of international law, in the shape of various conventions or treaties governing matters of common interest to all nations, renders the institution of such a tribunal an indispensable necessity of civilization.

The fact that there is no statutory obligation or treaty undertaking to resort to this tribunal on all occasions, matters but little. When railways were invented many old fogies objected to travel by the cars. No laws were made compelling them to travel by rail ; but the convenience of the system proved more potent than any statutory enactment.

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To-day every one uses the cars. So, in time to come, all nations will resort to the international tribunal, which it has been the glory of the Conference at The Hague to set up. Some have criticised the tribunal on the ground that it is not a tribunal, but only machinery for creating a tribunal. But that is its distinctive feature, and one which redounds very much to the credit of its authors. The original Russian proposal was merely to constitute five judges, who were to be named by five of the minor Powers, to whom all questions should be referred when they arose. This only gave us one tribunal, and it only provided us with five judges, any one of whom might have been a crank or more or less prejudiced or lacking in the qualities which command the confidence of the nations. The arrangement sanctioned by the Conference is much more elastic.

A small, permanent bureau, constituted on the same lines as the admirable international bureaus at Berne, will be appointed ; consisting of a director, assistant director, secretary, and archivist, with clerical staff, who will sit at The Hague, in offices duly provided for their use. This bureau of international arbitration will have as its first duty the preparing of a roster or panel or list of persons—nominated by all the signatory Powers as the most competent and trustworthy—from which each government may make a selection for the purpose of international arbitration.

There was some considerable discussion as to the number of persons to be nominated by each state. The American delegation proposed that one should be elected by the Supreme Court in each country. Sir Julian Pauncefote suggested that two should be nominated by each government. Ultimately the German amendment, which allows each government to nominate four, was accepted. The reason for this increase of number is the desirability of having experts in each department of diplomacy—war, commerce, and international law—so that the range of choice may be as wide as possible.

This list will be kept constantly revised and up-to-date ; and no names will appear on that list except those of jurists and other capable persons who are prepared to undertake immediately the duties of arbitrators in any case that may come up, and also to sit continuously until the case is disposed of. When any dispute arises, and two governments which have failed to settle matters by diplomacy agree to refer the dispute to arbitration, they will invoke the service of the bureau. The officials will submit to each disputant the list of judges, from which each will select two arbitrators ; and the four thus selected will choose

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a fifth, also from the same list. Before the tribunal thus constituted, proceedings will at once begin—according to the rules of the Code of Arbitration drawn up by the Conference. This code is chiefly the work of M. Martens, the Russian President of the Venezuelan Court of Arbitration. M. Martens is a professor of international law, whose experience in international arbitrations has gained for him the sobriquet of "the Chief Justice of Christendom." By this arrangement there is secured:

A permanent skilled staff, familiar with the settlement of international affairs, having at its command all the archives bearing upon international questions, whose exclusive business it will be to act as a board of peace-makers among the nations. The permanent list of arbitrators, which will be kept by this bureau, secures for the world the services of a selected list of its ablest men, who will be in constant readiness to act at once in all international disputes. They will therefore not be chosen, arbitrarily, after the dispute has arisen, but will have a status in their own country and before the world, which will insure their impartiality. Not only so, but the Code of Arbitration, which has been carefully drawn up and elaborated, anticipates and settles almost all the questions which have often impeded the progress of arbitration, and have stood in the way of its adoption.

Space is lacking, otherwise I should like to have referred specially to the international Commissions d'Enquête, which constitute one of the novel features of the Convention, and which we owe to Russian initiative. The Court of Arbitration cannot be brought into operation unless both parties bind themselves, before the arbitration begins, to abide by its award. But, unfortunately, that is just a preliminary pledge that nations which are in a quarrelsome mood are most reluctant to give. The most effective and welcome instrument for making peace is an arrangement that will secure the advantages of an arbitral investigation without exacting, as a preliminary pledge, an acceptance of the result of the inquiry. This is what is done by the Commissions d'Enquête.

The Conference was very nervous on the subject, and even went so far as specially to declare that the Commissions shall have nothing of an arbitral character. But that will be generally interpreted to mean that their reports will not be binding upon either party; and as that is the very essence of the difference between a Commission d'Enquête and an arbitration, the interpretation would seem to hold good. The Commissions d'Enquête can draw up their own rules for their own pro-

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cedure ; and if they choose to model them upon the procedure set out in the Code of Arbitration, no one can object.

The article was unfortunately mutilated at the last moment by Roumania, which insisted upon limiting the use of the international Commissions d'Enquête to cases in which neither honor nor "essential" interests were concerned ; but as the Commissions d'Enquête only investigate facts and pronounce no judgment, merely making a statement, which can be accepted or rejected as the disputants prefer, it will be very difficult to justify a plea of honor or "essential" interests which can be accepted as an excuse for not inquiring into the facts. To make such a plea would almost imply that you have been guilty of dishonorable conduct which you are afraid of having brought to the light of day, or that your essential interests are essentially bound up with the truth. Such a virtual admission no Government will care to make.

Therefore, it is possible we may find in these international Commissions d'Enquête rough and ready informal courts of arbitration, in constituting which we may use the Permanent Bureau at The Hague, and which can be brought into operation without any stipulation that we must accept their judgment as final. For the old formula "Always arbitrate before you fight" is now substituted the new formula "Always investigate before you fight;" and in nine cases out of ten you will never fight at all.

But, although the obligatory clauses in the original Russian proposal were vetoed by Germany, the principle of obligation has been reintroduced, in a more subtle and far-reaching fashion, in relation to questions of much greater importance than those specified in the Russian proposal. According to the original Russian scheme, arbitration was to be obligatory only in cases of monetary disputes, and when there was a difference of interpretation concerning articles in various specified international conventions.

None of these questions are ever big enough to bring about a war. But Article 27, which was introduced by Baron d'Estournelles, and supported vehemently by the French delegation, introduced the principle of obligation in a very skilful fashion. The signatory Powers, by Article 27, recognize it as a duty, whenever disputes arise between any of their number, to call the attention of the disputants to the peace-making machinery established at The Hague, and to recommend them to settle their disputes by arbitration rather than by war. "There is no compulsion, only you must," is the way in which this clause will

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work at first with all the minor Powers, and, with all Powers, when the tribunal has proved itself worthy, and when the rights of neutrals shall have gained in consideration and strength.

This is not the only way in which the obligation finds indirect recognition in the *reglement pacifique*. A very significant clause has been introduced in which it says that the Powers reserve to themselves the right to conclude special treaties providing for the reference to obligatory arbitration of whatever disputes they may deem suitable for such handling. The reservation of this right, which no one disputes, is practically equivalent to a declaration that it ought to be exercised. It is probable, therefore, that either England, Russia, or possibly some of the smaller Powers may take the initiative in proposing to conclude a series of arbitration treaties with other countries; defining the matters which they will agree to refer to arbitration as a matter of course. Germany will not conclude any of those treaties; but most of the other Powers are in favor of them; and twenty nations may each make as many treaties of arbitration in the next twelve months. It is well to strike while the iron is hot, and to make the most of the present opportunity while the idea is fresh and the governments are familiar with all the points involved in the arbitration proceedings.

We stand too near the Conference adequately to appreciate the magnitude of its labors or the immensity of the influence which it will exert in the history of the world; but the historian of the future will probably take the meeting of the Conference at The Hague as marking the beginning of a new era of international union, and the visible beginning of the great work of the federation of mankind.

WILLIAM T. STEAD.

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# WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS AND ITS APPLICATIONS.

If our orators and public prints correctly interpret its contents and meaning, the Farewell Address is a most comprehensive and elastic document. It has been interpreted as outlining our national policy for centuries to come. By some it is assumed that it contains warnings against imperialism and extra-continental expansion, that it counsels non-interference in European affairs, and that it urges us to remain a hermit nation. By others it is held to be a number of other things quite contradictory. Every publicist, from Carl Schurz to Sir Charles Dilke, gives his own report of it, which he assumes to be correct.

I have long hoped to see some one reclaim the Address from this turmoil of confusion by telling us what Washington actually said; but so far I have been almost entirely disappointed. Indeed, I begin to suspect that few who swear by it have ever carefully and critically read the words of their oracle. To cite the Address as "the Palladium of our liberties" is a convenient form of introduction to a magazine article or a stump speech; but to do so does not require any accurate or extended knowledge of its contents. The almost unchallenged acceptance of so much empty rhetoric is a humiliating commentary on prevailing mental habits and on the value of much of our civic teaching. I shall, therefore, lay before the reader, as briefly as possible, the substance of what Washington actually said.

The Address begins with an announcement of the writer's unwillingness to be nominated as President for the third time. There follows a plea for the fostering of a national unity which should override and destroy the separative tendencies of fancied sectional interests, and for a government of the whole "of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty. . ."

The third section depicts the pernicious effects of party spirit; and while it recognizes that partisanship is "inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind," it counsels its severe repression. The fourth section is comprised of short paragraphs advocating various things as essential to political prosper-

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ity, such as religion and morality, the general diffusion of knowledge, and the maintenance of public credit. The next section has to do with the relations of the United States with foreign nations. The Address ends with a solemn leave-taking of public responsibilities and fellow-patriots.

I shall now more minutely review the section that especially concerns us—the fifth, which treats of foreign relations. I shall quote parts of it which present its argument and express its spirit.

The section begins by urging impartiality toward foreign Powers.

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. . . In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded. . . The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave . . . to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. . ."

Such feelings offer to foreign influences the opportunity

"to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. . . Jealousy, [of foreign influence] to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided."

This is the general thesis, which the section proceeds to elaborate.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world . . . even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences . . ."

He then states that his administration has been guided by these principles, especially in the matter of the Proclamation of April, 1793, establishing the neutrality of the United States in the war between France and England. Finally, he takes leave of the responsibilities so long and nobly borne, and retires into private life, the grandest figure of his own, and perhaps of any age.

As we read the earlier sections of the Address, those treating of national unity, party spirit, religion, learning, and public credit, we feel that they convey general warnings. Washington had in mind certain current problems and pressing dangers; but he had predominantly in view the permanent assailments peculiar to popular government. Governmental systems founded on the popular will are always

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menaced by certain tendencies "inseparable from our nature," and "rooted in the strongest passions of the human mind." How well Washington divined the inherent dangers of republics let the Civil War and the Free Silver movement testify. Nullification and Repudiation had already raised their heads; still, the advice given in these opening sections was meant to be general, and was directed chiefly toward the future.

But when we reach the section specially concerning us, we find different premises and a different movement of thought. Party rancor, blind local selfishness, and a desire to get par value for a depreciated dollar *are* weaknesses almost inseparable from our nature. But can the same be said of permanent antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachment for others? Are they also rooted in the strongest passions of the human mind? I trow not. The tendency of each nation to consider itself the greatest and most enlightened on earth *is* rooted in one of the strongest passions of the human mind—self-conceit. Americans are accused of having arrogant, national conceit; and we indict France and England and Germany of the same folly. No modern nation has fanciful impulsions to love one fellow-nation and to hate another causelessly. The broadly human tendency is for each nation to love and vaunt itself inordinately. No nation welcomes "the insidious wiles of foreign influence," or rejoices at the prospect of becoming "the satellite" of another Power, however strong. The fifth section is not directed against any general and constant human weakness. Considered as a merely general warning, it is unintelligible.

It is not a general warning: it is the discussion of a definite historical situation; first describing it, then outlining the policy and expedients by which it might be met. It is specific advice for a specific crisis. It is an argument regarding the relation of the United States to France and England, then at war, and a defence of Washington's policy in the matter. Read in the light of current events, its every word is definite and full of the vitality of fact. Let me briefly sketch the situation.

The War of the Revolution was still vividly in mind: its exasperations died hard—all the more slowly because England long refused to give up the Western posts and secretly fomented Indian outrages. Rudeness and stupidity characterized her diplomacy. She seemed bent upon humiliating us. When war with France broke out, our seamen were impressed and made to serve British guns, our commerce was

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harassed, and our very national existence was endangered. War with England on our own account was the natural recourse ; but we were not ready.

What wonder, then, that many Americans were anxious to have their country throw herself into the arms of France? She had helped us in the Revolution, and stood for liberty in Europe. French fashions and modes of thought, French terms of speech, were current everywhere. Nothing would serve the grateful admirers of France but a fixed alliance with her, linking our fortunes with hers for good or ill. Any other course or counsel was held as rank ingratitude. It is hard for us to realize the extent of this French madness. The antics of M. Edmond Genêt, the French Envoy, had justification in the conduct of our people. It was a time for apprehension when Thomas Jefferson could vacillate between attachment to France and his duty as Secretary of State ; when James Monroe, our Minister to Paris, could wear a Liberty Cap and allow himself to be publicly embraced by the Representatives of the People ; and when Edmund Randolph could enter into questionable commerce with Fauchet, the French Ambassador.

Washington saw that peace almost at any price was indispensable to the consolidation of our strength. He realized further that England and the United States had common interests and traditions and a common destiny. He divined that France was republican in name alone, that the dictator had already come. Our country was between Scylla and Charybdis : its animosity toward England, its gratitude to France, were alike freighted deep with danger. Alliance with either meant that it should become the vassal of one European Power and the victim of another.

Mark with what trenchant intensity Washington denounces prevailing unwise policies and unwiser men. Referring to England :

"Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject. . . The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim."

He next turns to France and her American partisans :

"So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one

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the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification . . . it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity ; gilding, with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation."

These are not the generalities of a theorist; nor are the words aimed at the failings of humanity at large. Their but half-concealed exasperation has specific personages in mind : every word has the impetus of some definite event.

If further proof were needed of the specific character of the argument, it would be furnished by the enumeration of the immediate benefits likely to follow upon a wise policy. We read thus : "If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance," as from Spain at New Orleans, or from England on our Indian frontier. We may hope, in the second place, "soon to cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected,"—that is, we should be able to build a navy, making it dangerous to harry our commerce, in the hope of drawing us into an alliance. Third, we shall reach a stage "when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation," as France and England had no hesitation in doing daily. And last, the time will soon come "when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel."

These benefits were plainly not to be the ultimate results of national life, but almost immediate achievements ; and in about eighteen years they were accomplished facts. The War of 1812 caused our neutrality and autonomy to be respected. That war put us unmistakably outside the suction of the European vortex called "The Balance of Power," which Washington feared and hated far more than he did France or England, the leaders, for the time being, of the two opposing groups constituting this baleful system.

European statesmen sought to range the nations into two camps of about equal strength, thus hoping to prevent any one people from becoming predominant. It was important, for the maintenance of this scheme, that the United States should become attached to one battalion or another, lest she should become the incalculable and troublesome third factor in international affairs. Neutrals, international mugwumps, were not wanted. Until 1812, Europe had not despaired



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of putting the United States into its so-called Balance; hoping, as John Adams said, "to use them for make-weight candles in weighing out its pounds." The term "Balance of Power" could be substituted for the words "foreign influence" throughout the Address. The freedom of the United States from the influence and compulsion of the Balance of Power was Washington's supreme purpose.

National autonomy and a distinctively American character were the conclusion of the argument; but the starting-point and premise of it were the temporary weakness of the United States, and the danger of her being crushed between the upper and nether millstones of the rivalries of Europe. The Address proceeds to argue thus:

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course."

Washington reckoned with the effective separation by the Atlantic Ocean. The barrier of the Atlantic was plainly providential. He said of it, on another occasion: "The Atlantic enables us to maintain a state with respect to European nations which otherwise could not be preserved by human wisdom."

The section concludes, as has been said, with a reference to the Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 (of which it is primarily a discussion and defence), and with a statement of the purpose underlying all Washington's official acts. He says:

"With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes."

Washington's letter, of October 9, 1795, to Patrick Henry is even more explicit. He says:

"My ardent desire is, and my aim has been . . . to keep the United States free from political connections with any other country, to see them independent of all and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an *American* character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for *ourselves*, and not for others. This in my judgment is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home; and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the union."

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Washington was the first Nationalist. Long after his death politicians were still pro-English and pro-French. The later Federalists were as madly English as the early Anti-Federalists had been madly French. An independent American nationality may be said to be the creation of the Farewell Address.

The Address is usually summarized as "advice to steer clear of European entanglements." Most people imagine, therefore, that it pleads for national isolation and advises against alliances of any kind with the European world. Helpful relations are not entanglements: entanglements are injurious relationships from which it is difficult to withdraw. Washington considered as entangling, any European alliance in which the United States should be an unequal partner and dependent—any connection which should make this country the vassal of any other. He condemned anything which subjects the will and policy of one country to the will and policy of another. He deprecated the passionate attachments and hatreds which make weak nations the satellites of strong ones. His constant effort was to foster "that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes."

In the second place, any equal alliance which is permanent would be entangling. However advantageous an alliance on equal terms may be, the relative strength of nations is continually changing; and thus a fixed alliance results at last in the virtual annexation of the weaker country by the stronger. The weaker no longer commands its own fortunes. That Washington contemplated equal, temporary alliances, but feared fixed ones, is clear from his own words: "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world . . . we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

It is assumed that Washington urged non-intervention in European affairs, and neutrality under all circumstances whatsoever; but his words do not warrant it. He says: "It must be unwise for us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her [Europe's] politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities"; distinctly implying that events might weave for us ties with Europe which are not artificial, but natural and unavoidable. While we were to stand aloof from "ordinary" European combinations, there might arise "extraordinary emergencies" forcing us to interfere.

*Washington believed, also, that the United States might wisely become*

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*a member of a European coalition.* The reader will remember that it was given as one of the results of a wise neutrality that "belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation." The sentence seems to end somewhat too abruptly to please the ear. It is not surprising, then, to find that in the first draft it was finished thus: "Belligerent European nations will not lightly hazard giving us provocation *to throw our weight into the opposite scale.*" The words "to throw our weight into the opposite scale" were, upon revision, erased; but they clearly show that in Washington's mind armed intervention in Europe was a possibility. Washington expected that, if it were necessary for reprisal upon a persistent European enemy, we might throw our sword into the European Balance. Washington was no gentle dreamer or theory-spinning humanitarian, but a warrior from his youth.

It is assumed that the Address surveyed the far future of national life; but it does no more than enter the vestibule of that future. Washington was convinced that American conditions would constantly change for the better; so that any permanent arrangements, based on weakness and lack of development, would soon become disastrous bonds. He pleads for commercial treaties—"the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate. . ." Temporary arrangements in politics and commerce, fitted to temporary conditions, form the burden of his argument.

Washington's concern was to insure an unhampered future. He realized that the permanent conditions of our national development had not yet been established, and, therefore, gave only little advice about them; but he was determined that a glorious future should not be discounted by a fatuous acceptance of the limitations of present weakness.

It is curious how little he indulged in prophecy. He does, however, speak of the United States as "a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation." In a letter to LaFayette he says, that "these United States shall one day have weight in the scale of empire." He also describes himself as "a member of an infant empire."

What has the fifth section of the Address, concerning foreign relations, shown itself to be? It is not a warning against extra-continental expansion: the subject is not mentioned. It does not glimpse the bogey of imperialism. The general course and career of the nation

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when fully grown are not considered. It does not contain Cassandra-like warnings of coming ill. It is a little curious that any one should make of a stately gentleman, dressed in black velvet, with well-powdered hair, a sort of new Balaam on a new Pisgah who sees

> "In outline dim and vast
> Their fearful shadows cast
> The giant forms of empires on their way
> To ruin. One by one
> They tower and they are gone."

Washington felt no such stirrings of the prophetic soul; and his contemporaries saw in him not a prophet, but merely a statesman defending a specific measure—the Neutrality Proclamation of 1793.

The Address did furnish specific advice to meet specific temporary conditions. It counselled a weak, isolated, immature nation not to make a permanent alliance with any strong foreign Power; thereby becoming its subject and satellite. It urged neutrality until national character and political individuality should be consolidated, and institutions and resources fully developed. When all this should have come to pass, it looked to see the United States take her equal place in the family of nations, and, having full command of her own fortunes, make temporary alliances with foreign Powers, or, if need be, on extraordinary occasions, throw herself into one side or the other of the European Balance, as her interest and dignity should dictate.

It is more than time to ask, What present application has the Farewell Address? What part of the fifth section still remains in force? Evidently only so much of it as has foundation in conditions still unchanged. If premises have been destroyed by the march of circumstances, the original conclusions therefrom are invalid.

The premise of national weakness no longer stands: we are the richest, strongest people in the world. National isolation is done away with. The Atlantic affords no barrier, but has become a ferry crossed at every whim. London and New York are now nearer to each other than Boston and Philadelphia were a century ago. Quickened transportation and communication have contracted the world. When we read in the Address that "Our national situation enables us to pursue a course of self-withdrawal from European affairs," the words have an almost mocking sound.

When we remember also that the armed collisions of the day in Africa and China are really struggles for markets and cheap, raw materials, Washington's "great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign

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nations," namely, to extend our commercial relations while having "with them as little political connection as possible," seems the naïve expedient of an ignorant and unworldly soldier. But ignorant or unworldly Washington was not. He clearly saw that, without the barrier of a protracted Atlantic voyage, our withdrawal from political Europe could not be maintained by any human wisdom. Washington would not have talked of detachment from Europe and of ocean greyhounds in the same breath.

We cannot now make an unequal alliance if we would. We cannot become the satellite of any stronger Power. All that stands is a dissuasion from permanent alliances with any Power. It would still be folly to espouse the quarrels of another people, regardless of our own interests. It is still "our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." We may still "safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

The only practical application of this remainder of Washington's advice is to a fixed alliance between the United States and England, which few imagine can ever come to pass. Grateful as we are to England for recent kindnesses, a fixed alliance is undesirable and unnecessary. A unity of ideals, interests, traditions, blood, language, and religion makes the artificial bonds of a paper treaty superfluous.

There is a slim, permanent remainder of Washington's advice; but to cite the whole fifth section as applicable to the situation in Cuba and the Philippines is to evince an astonishing ignorance of its real purport. The Address has directly but a restricted bearing on the present situation; and there is no desire anywhere to go contrary to it. It is difficult to see why Anti-Expansionist orators and journalists have thought it an oracle to swear by. There is but one explanation—few of them have read it.

So much for the direct application. But has the Address any indirect bearing on our present problems?

To find an answer let us ask, What was Washington's position, broadly stated? It was, that unhindered internal development is necessary to the consolidation of political individuality; that distinctively national character is stunted and destroyed by foreign influences; that, as a monarchical environment is unfavorable to Republican institutions, it is a vital necessity for the United States to stand outside the Balance of Power of the European nations.

The War of 1812 reaffirmed these contentions with powder, lead, and steel. Europe was effectually warned off, and it appeared that

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the sacredness of American nationality had been at last established; for after 1812 no European Power dreamed of the United States as a safe mark for coercion or intrigue.

Ten years later the Allied Powers (Russia, Austria, France, and Prussia) sought to reinstate Spain in her rebellious South American colonies. This movement called forth President Monroe's famous Message of 1823, in which he declared that the United States would consider any attempt of the Allied Powers to "extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety," and that such interposition could not be regarded "in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly spirit toward the United States." The Monroe Doctrine extended the area from which European influence was excluded: South America must also, for our benefit and her own, stand outside the system of the European Powers.

Was this extension of Washington's anti-foreign-influence doctrine justifiable? Had that doctrine any such rightful scope as to embrace a hemisphere in its prohibitions? Are we irrevocably committed to maintain the autonomy of South America? Is there danger to our institutions in the future occupation of South America by European Powers?

An academic discussion as to whether the Monroe Doctrine is virtually contained in the Address, and whether it should still be maintained, would be almost silly. The Monroe Doctrine is not a theory, but a fact of national procedure. It is not a mere political figment, but a strenuous mode of national action. It has been explicit for seventy-five years, and was implied in the Revolution and in the War of 1812. The expulsion of the French and Austrians from Mexico, and the halting of the British advance in Venezuela, reaffirmed it; and now in Cuba it has received a heightened application. President Monroe said, European sovereignty shall not be extended on this hemisphere. President McKinley said, European sovereignty may not endlessly be abused on this hemisphere. The national right of self-development was recognized in both cases. All large, national measures spring from the necessities of self-preservation, which take small account of bloodless theory. It is trivial to discuss the technical correctness of Monroe's deductions from the Address. We may as well accept them as the utterances of that national consciousness which makes our destiny as it chooses, without regard to theorists or doctrinaires.

Under Washington's guidance in 1776, and under his inspiration in 1812, we shook ourselves free from foreign influence. Later we pro-

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tected our Spanish-American neighbors from European domination. The result of loyalty to Washington's principles is, that at last the Balance of the European Powers seems to most of us a faint, shadowy, and unreal thing.

But shadowy, unreal, or futile the Balance of Power is not. In Europe it has never ceased to operate. It plays off dual against triple alliances ; it burdens the nations with gigantic armaments ; it maintains the "great assassin," the Sultan, lest in the division of Turkey some one Power should get the lion's share. After every war it intervenes to prevent the victor from upsetting the equivalence of power artificially created. The partition of Africa has been its preoccupation for the last ten years. The other day France and England were ready to fly at each other's throats about Fashoda and the control of the Upper Nile. The partition of the Orient is now in full swing. One part of China after another is seized by Europe, without as much as "By your leave" to its rightful masters. The command of Chinese markets, the exploitation of Chinese resources, and the maintenance of equivalent power in the Orient call all Europe to arms.

The partition of Africa was the work of the last ten years ; the partition of Asia will occupy the present decade ; and the partition of South America is not far distant, unless something arrests the spread of the system of equivalence. European nations look with longing eyes upon South America, the best and richest undeveloped territory. The European press reiterates that overcrowded Europe cannot rightfully be kept out of it ; that Europeans have a right to go into it, and to carry with them their own laws, institutions, and political allegiances. Germany cherishes the ultimate annexation of Brazil as a part of her settled plan.

This world-including German plan is most impressive. It comprises : (1) the annexation of Syria, in order to be at hand to grab as large as possible a part of Turkey, when at last that country falls to pieces ; and (2) the absorption of Holland, in order to Prussianize the Dutch East Indies (Java, Sumatra, and Borneo), which command the China Seas, the Indian Ocean, and Australasia, and in order also to appropriate the Dutch West Indies, with the view of influencing the world-commerce one day to pour through the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmian Canal, and helping forward the annexation of Brazil. Let Germany get a foothold in Brazil, and her rivals will claim their share ; and South America will become another area of balanced hostilities. These designs are no mere fancies ; and Germany's recent interfer-

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ence in Manila seems not so stupid, when it is recognized, as it is by every one in Europe, that a strong, neutral, non-European Power in the Philippines would be fatal to Germany's future Oriental supremacy, of which she hopes to make the Dutch East Indies the base and centre.

Now why should not the Powers of Europe occupy and appropriate South America for development, its own people being incompetent to do so? We must give some better answer than that the Monroe Doctrine prohibits it. We must not play the dog in the manger.

A sufficient answer is, that, with the exception of England, no great European Power has any capacity for colonization or for the advancement of new or backward countries. Successful, colonial administration is as little understood on the Continent of Europe as constitutional liberty seems to be. French and German colonies alike fail to be self-supporting; they are not the creations of trade and agriculture, but of governmental initiative. All alike are burdened by numerous civil and military officials, out of all proportion to the colonists and the financial interests involved. France and Germany imagine, it is true, that "trade follows the flag" from the very first. They set up the machinery of paternalism in new countries, hoping that settlers will be attracted—which is seldom the case. The capable pioneer does not like minute official control. The English trader and colonist pushes forward and alone into the wilderness; and when he has created interests worth protecting the flag comes up, and all goes to the tune of "God Save the Queen" forever after. The Continental European cannot do things "off his own bat," as Englishmen and Yankees can. Paternalism does not train men to meet new and strange conditions. The commercial methods of the European Powers, England excepted, are unintelligent: they are monopolistic; and they consider colonies as freeholds to be exploited, to furnish revenue, raw materials, and exclusive markets to the mother-country. Continental Europe is not competent to develop South America in any large and liberal and intelligent way. Africa and Asia should satisfy them.

There is another valid reason why South America should remain as she is. It is not proved that her peoples are hopelessly incapable of self-development. Venezuela, backward as she is, is still in advance of British Guiana. The European assertion of the right to take control of South America rests upon the assumption that the latter's states are moribund and incapable of progress; but no one can tell when a hitherto backward nation will leap to great heights of power and pros-

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perity. Japan, for example, is a source of astonishment and admiration. Thirty-five years ago Mexico was held hopeless. His desire to rescue her from anarchy was Maximilian's self-avowed justification. To-day, Mexico leads the nations in rate of progress. She is developing an individuality strong, brilliant, and clear-headed. We hear of contemptuous despair concerning the political capacity of a mixed Spanish and Indian race. The stock which can produce a Porfirio Diaz, the greatest constructive statesman now living, is far from hopeless. It is at least probable that the South American states will yet produce types of civic capacity which will amply repay the waiting of their long infancy. Freedom from European domination is as necessary for them as it was for us. And if they are backward, France and Germany have not made such successes of their colonial affairs as to prove that without their guidance the future of South America is hopeless.

European domination in South America would still be dangerous to our interests. The principles of the Address still hold. The enemy is the old one, the Balance of Power. Its menace is greater now than in 1823. If the European Balance comes into South America, with the power and *prestige* gained from partitioning the world between its members, we shall have unfriendly neighbors amply able and willing to assail our interests and thwart our purposes.

Let our minds dwell upon the immense power and *prestige* of a supposed European coalition which had succeeded in partitioning the earth between its members. Could we stand before it unconcerned? Our national optimism would at last turn pale. The Continental Powers would delight to humiliate and thwart us. How much they love us recent events have shown. England alone prevented their intervention in behalf of Spain. There is no doubt that a Europeanized South America would be injurious to our peace and prosperity.

I want again to look away from our own immediate interests. Would it advance civilization if the whole world should be dominated by a monopolistic, military, and largely incompetent system? Is the higher civilization of individual liberty, industrialism, and free exchanges to be retarded in opening up new areas of the earth? The doings of the concerted Powers in the last few years show that the halting of their system is a necessity for civilization. Armenia and Crete, Greece and Turkey, prove the quality of the Concert's motives and methods. A system which crushes out national individuality makes the world poorer by reducing its races to one conventional

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type. The world has need of every variety of character and capacity which new peoples can contribute. By such accessions alone can it keep its powers fresh and vigorous.

How may the system of European equivalence be halted? By the presence in the East of a strong nation, standing outside the system of the Powers, but friendly to each of them; forming a centre round which may rally all the forces which make for a new, more intelligent, and more generous international order. Such a neutral Power in the Orient would support liberal and enlightened England in her struggle for open markets; it would save Japan from the Russian Bear, who sharpens his claws and waits; and Holland would rejoice in an alliance which would rescue her from any fears of German annexation.

Some readers have already mentally objected, that "England is a member of the Balance of Power; that she was futile in Armenia and Crete; that she herself partitions Africa, and is taking her share of China." They also remember that Venezuela is in South America, and are disposed to ask, What reason is there to think that England would rally to a new and better order? England became involved in the Balance during the eighteenth century, and has long been trying to escape from it. An English Prime Minister, Canning, suggested the Doctrine of 1823 to Monroe and aided it diplomatically. England's dominance in Africa is the reward of competency: she has a right to it. Venezuela is a dead issue. Jameson's raid was promptly disavowed. England has been reluctantly forced to her recent steps in China: she would gladly restrict her expansion if she could. She took our side, as I have said, against all the Continent in our war with Spain; and she has brought forth fruits meet for repentance in Crete. She would welcome a new and better order.

Our providential overthrow of Spain in the Philippines implies grave responsibilities. Our retention or relinquishment of the Philippines is a most portentous matter. Should we give them up, the islands would become the arena of Asia. If they become the prize of any European Power, the Oriental Balance will be destroyed; and blood will flow to reëstablish it. If we keep them, all this can be prevented; and it is likely that, in a free and friendly coalition of commercial and constitutional nations, the old, immoral scheme of European equivalence will meet its match and master, and Washington's prophecy, that "these United States shall one day have weight in the scale of Empire," will be gloriously fulfilled.

The same judicial reader is disposed to say to me, "You are now

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becoming sentimental, and are deserting the ground of fact as well as the principles of the Address. All that concerns you is, to show that our own interests would be endangered by the European occupation of South America. You must also show the relation of the holding of the Philippines to South American autonomy. Vague, international humanitarianism cannot weigh in this discussion." I am quite content to argue on facts, and on the principles of the Address.

Please consider the following facts : the accomplished partition of Africa and Asia ; the undoubted desire of Europe to appropriate South America ; the ill-concealed Continental hostility to the United States ; and our traditional maintenance of the autonomy of South America as necessary to our own peace.

We are fully warranted in considering a European advance on South America as a possibility, and in forestalling it in any way we can. Great, national struggles may be anticipated and prevented by the early occupation of advanced strategical positions, and by the knitting of virtual alliances strong enough to dissuade from the meditated attack. The partition of South America may best be prevented by halting European equivalence in the Orient. Germany can best be repelled from Brazil, by forestalling her hope for Oriental supremacy on the basis of the Dutch East Indies, by our retaining the Philippines, from whose base the battle can be won bloodlessly by us in advance.

Admiral Dewey has already taught Germany that it may not be safe for her to override the Monroe Doctrine by and by, as was purposed. America little comprehends the bearing of the ownership of the Philippines on our own and on the international future. The excitement of the Orient and the apprehension of Europe should suggest that there is more involved than either cross-roads politicians, on the one hand, or mere theorists, on the other, imagine.

I have attempted no exhaustive discussion of the Philippine problem. It has many phases ; and there may be considerations averse to retention sufficient to overbalance the foregoing. I have simply sought to determine whether the Address has an indirect bearing on our problems. If Europe really covets South America (her own testimony must be admitted) ; if our occupation of the Philippines would halt the system of European equivalence (the witness of Europe's fears and Germany's deeds applies) ; then there can be little doubt that Washington's Farewell Address indirectly favors our retention of the Philippines.

ROBERT ELLIS JONES.

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# THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

For months past, an army of Americans has been standing face to face with an army of Filipinos ;—your people against my people, the civilization of the West against the half-civilization of the East ;—and it has been not quite safe to predict what the outcome would be. There has been courage on both sides—plenty of it. Whatever the Filipino may be, he is no coward : death and wounds have no more terrors for him than for his foes. But, in the end, high civilization is sure to tell, when pitted against low civilization ; and Aguinaldo and his half-trained followers were never likely to hold their own against the discipline and rapid-fire guns of the Americans. As a Filipino, I think it is as well that they should not ; for I believe that the Government of the United States has the best interests of the islanders in view, that it will give them all the self-rule they are at present capable of exercising, and that it will start them on a career of prosperity such as their ambitious leaders are by no means likely to open for them.

Meanwhile the war has aroused a strong interest in the United States in everything concerning the Philippine archipelago, particularly its people. Thousands are asking, "What are these people like?" I propose to give one answer to this question by telling in concise fashion something about the races and tribes who inhabit these far-off islands. To tell all that could be said about them would need a book ; but probably a general description of their tribal relations and state of civilization will be acceptable.

There is one fact of the highest interest connected with the people of the Philippine Islands,—they form outlying branches of two very wide-spread races of mankind. For these islands are the meeting-point of two far-extended peoples of the Eastern tropics—(1) the Malays, who hold dominion in the island world from far-north Hawaii to far-south Madagascar, and (2) the Negritos, who seem to cover an equally wide section of the earth ; for the latter appear to be near relatives of the pygmies of Africa, a diminutive people found in nearly every section of that great continent.

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The Negritos are the aborigines of the Philippines. Before the coming of the Malays, they probably occupied all this island group, and many of the numerous islands which lie in the Pacific to the southward. Some of them are found to-day in the peninsula of Malacca and the Andaman Islands. In Java they have recently died out. It is likely that some of them still exist in the forests of Borneo and in the interior of other large islands. Half-breed Negritos are found from India to New Guinea. Here the Negritos have amalgamated with the savage tribes of Hindustan ; there, with the Negro-like Papuans of Malaysia. But everywhere the pure race is dying out. War, bitter and unrelenting, seems to have existed for centuries between them and the invading Malays. The latter have proved the stronger ; the Negritos have perished, or been driven to the depths of the forests and the fastnesses of the mountains ; and most of the land which once knew them knows them no more. A policy of extermination has prevailed ; and few of this once numerous race survive.

If the reader should ask what this has to do with the Philippine Islands, I reply, that these islands are one of the last abiding-places of the Negritos. But even here they have been swept away by the Malays until but few of them remain, perhaps 25,000 in all. These are mostly found in the large island of Luzon. Negros was named after them ; but it contains few Negritos to-day.

So much for the Negritos as the relics of an ancient race. Now what can be said of them as individuals? They have two claims to notice. They are a race of dwarfs, the smallest people on the face of the earth. I intend this statement to include the pygmies of Africa. And mentally they are the lowest, or one of the lowest, of the human races, stupid in mind, degraded in condition, forest wanderers scarcely more settled than the apes : "man-apes" they are called in parts of India.

I have seen many of these dwarfs—perhaps the last remnant of the earliest of mankind—in their native haunts ; and in their way they have been to me a very interesting people. They average about 4 feet 8 inches in height, many of them being little more than 4 feet high ; so that in a group they look like so many half-grown boys. In color they are of a very dark-brown ; while some of them are of as deep a black as the genuine Negro. They are thin, spindle-legged, little fellows, with flattish noses, thick lips, and frizzled black hair ; their faces are ugly and stupid-looking ; and their whole aspect is anything but attractive. They have the custom of tattooing their

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bodies ; and the results are easily seen, since they do not trouble themselves to hide their skin with the raiment of civilization. In intellect they seem incapable of improvement ; and they are inveterate wanderers.

Not many years ago the Spanish authorities had the idea that they could civilize these forest nomads. They gathered a large body of them on an estate in Pampanga, gave them tools and a year's provisions, provided them with teachers, and fancied that the problem was in a fair way of being solved. So it was, while the provisions lasted. The Negritos were quite ready to eat, but not at all ready to work. The food vanished ; the tools were untouched ; the teachers taught in vain ; and at the end of the year the hopeless pupils returned to their forest haunts, their much-loved roots, and freedom.

But, if deficient mentally, the Negritos are largely endowed physically. They can run like deer and climb like monkeys. In fact, they approximate to the monkeys in one respect, since they have great powers of movement and of grasping in the great toe, being able to pick up minute objects with their feet. When on board ship they are as nimble as monkeys, and can descend the rigging head foremost, holding on by the toes alone. Some Negritos are employed as servants by the Filipinos. Most of them, however, dwell in their forest retreats, where they live mainly by hunting ; though they also eat the wild fruits of the forest, the roots of the arum, the honey of the wild bees, and other woodland products. Their weapons are simple but effective. They consist of a bamboo lance, a bow of palm-wood, and a quiver of poisoned arrows. It is an interesting fact that the art of poisoning arrows is common to the pygmy races, wherever found. The African dwarfs use arrows, a puncture from which is fatal. The Negritos have another way of getting food, not agreeable to the natives of the open country. They will swoop down upon the valley, steal covertly round a herd of browsing cattle, and drive them off to their strongholds in the hills.

The Negritos—or Aetas, as the Spaniards call them—live in the simplest and most primitive fashion. They wander to and fro, about fifty families in a group, obtaining shelter from a few sloping poles covered with leaves. Sometimes they build rude huts raised on bamboo poles, in the Malay fashion. They have a pretence of farming, scratching the ground with a stick and throwing in a handful of seed ; but they seldom remain in one place long enough to gather their slender crop.

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Their marriage customs are peculiar. The young man who seeks a bride first obtains the favor of her parents and then pursues her, catching her in his arms. She breaks loose and runs, and does not yield until he has caught her several times. Finally, he leads her in triumph to her home. Here her father drags the youth up a ladder to the floor of their hut. The mother drags up the maiden. They are then made to kneel ; and the father pours over them a cocoanut-shellful of water. He then bumps their heads together ; and the ceremony is completed. They spend their honeymoon in the depths of the mountains, and for five days and nights are lost to sight, after which they come back to every-day life.

There is another marriage custom which is worth describing. Instead of the youth and maiden being dragged up the hut-ladder, they are made to climb two saplings that grow near each other. Then an elder of the group grasps the saplings and draws them together until the heads of the young couple touch, with a kiss, or a bump, according to the force used. This makes them man and wife.

So much for this curious little race of people. Now I must speak of the other race, the Filipinos, as the Spaniards have called them,—my own people, though I have been so long a resident of Europe and America that I can talk of them almost as of persons of foreign blood. Of Malay origin, they probably number from 6,000,000 to 8,000,000, and are divided into a great many tribes, scattered through the hundreds of islands. There are more than eighty of these tribes, some well known, many scarcely known at all. The bulk of the Filipinos are civilized ; but many tribes live in a savage state. Some of the latter are not of full Malay blood, but are half-breed Negritos, among which is the tribe of Tagbanuas, in Palawan Island. These have dark skins and curly hair, and are nearly naked wanderers ; but they are friendly in disposition, and possess the Malay talent for music. Their huts are simple leaf shelters, in which they cannot stand erect, and where they are forced to keep up fire smudges to drive away insect pests.

Child-marriage is so common with them that children are sometimes betrothed before they are born. They have an equally curious legal custom. If any one is accused of a serious crime, he and his accuser are led to a deep pond, and both are made to dive together. The one who can keep his head under the longest is believed to have told the truth.

The Filipinos are divided into two large groups, the Tagals or

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Tagalogs, of Luzon, and the Visayas, of the central and southern islands. A smaller group is that of the Sulus or Moros, the Mohammedans of the Far South. It is with the Tagalogs that we are most closely concerned, since they form the rank and file of Aguinaldo's army, the mainstay of the opposition to American rule.

As the Negritos may be designated the forest-folk, so we may name the Tagalogs the sea-folk ; for water seems their favorite element. They delight to swim and bathe in it ; they are the most fearless of navigators ; and they love to dwell by the water-side. This love of the ocean is common with Malays everywhere. Where they can, they build their huts on piles sunk in the water ; and in building on land, they elevate their dwellings in the same way, raising them six or eight feet on supports of bamboo.

Physically, the Tagalog is well developed. He has a round head, high cheek-bones, a rather flat nose, somewhat thick lips, large black eyes, straight black hair, and a complexion of olive hue. Of his senses, that of smell is remarkably acute. The women are often quite handsome ; and this may be said in particular of the Mestiza women—those who have a mixture of Spanish blood. Many of these are beautiful, with liquid black eyes, a soft, olive complexion, red lips, and pearly teeth. Their hair, of which they are very proud, is of a glossy black, and often reaches to the ground.

The Visayas differ from the Tagalogs mainly in language. Both these groups are normally peaceful. They only ask to be well treated and allowed to till their fields in comfort and peace. This condition was lacking under Spanish rule ; and long years of trouble and oppression have now made them suspicious of all foreigners. The Americans may promise and protest ; but the Spaniards did the same. The latter did not hesitate to break their word ; and the Filipino would rather fight the stranger than trust him. They will be restive until they have learned to know the American.

The disposition to peace shown by many of the natives of the north is not possessed by the Moros of the south, the inhabitants of the Sulu Islands and the coast of Mindanao. Normally these people are fierce ; they hate the Christians with a fanatical hatred ; and they much prefer the excitement of war to the monotony of peace. They are born pirates, and for several centuries have been in the habit of making raids upon the northern islands ; killing the men, and carrying off the women and children, the former for the harem, the latter to be reared as slaves. Only very recently have the Spaniards, by the aid of small



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gunboats and rapid-fire guns, succeeded in putting an end to these savage piracies. The war in the north once at an end, the American may find these savage fanatics of the south not easy to deal with.

I have little space left to speak of the wild tribes of Malay origin. The Igorrotes of Luzon comprise several tribes of head-hunting savages. They are brawny, powerful fellows, with some agricultural skill; but they live a wild life, and refuse to be civilized. Though they made a poor show with bows and arrows against American rifles, the Spaniards were never able to subdue them. The Gaddanes are fierce and strong fellows, armed with the spear and the bow, and take the scalps or the heads of their foes in battle. Some of these wild tribes are as low and degraded as the Negritos. Among these are the Mangyans of Mindoro, who live in the most primitive manner, yet are a harmless, simple, and confiding people, easily placated by kindness.

These foregoing must serve as examples of the many wild tribes which inhabit the islands, and some of whom live like savages of the lowest type. One would think they could not be of the same race as the civilized Filipinos. In Mindanao the Moros hunt them like animals of the chase, and cut off their heads when captured. The lucky winner of sixty heads gains the coveted title of *baganí*, or chief.

RAMON REYES LALA.

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# PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

WHILE the intellectual life of the eighteenth century was largely dominated by philosophical thought, the nineteenth has not been specifically philosophic in its tendencies. It has given prominence, rather, to the several sciences and the mechanical arts, to political activity and social improvement. The progress in these departments has left its indelible imprint upon our age. It has called into play our best energies, and has completely altered the conditions of life. Yet, within this period, philosophical speculation has been neither inactive nor unproductive. It has passed through many changes, and has exerted a considerable influence upon contemporaneous activity. The science of philosophy, in short, enters into the composite picture of the century. Let us, therefore, endeavor to trace the general outlines of modern philosophical inquiry as they appear in the achievements and tendencies of our era.

At the beginning of the present century, idealism exerted a preponderant influence on European thought. In France, spiritualism appeared in the form of a reaction against the materialism and sensualism of the eighteenth century; while, in Germany, philosophic speculation had many brilliant triumphs to record. One bold system after another was here promulgated in rapid succession, the climax being reached in the well-known philosophy of Hegel. This great thinker resolved all actuality into a realm of ideas, and defined being as a single mental process dominated by the law of contrast. The philosophy of Hegel, by reason of its energetic concentration and its mobilization and spiritualization of the entire visible world, became one of the forces of the century; and even to-day the influence of the great German savant has by no means become extinct.

Yet Hegel, too, was destined to realize that the period of decline begins at the very moment the pinnacle of power has been reached. Soon after his death (1831) there ensued a sudden collapse of all philosophical speculation. The interest of mankind was diverted entirely to the visible world; the various sciences experienced a very rapid de-

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velopment ; great mechanical inventions followed one another in rapid succession ; and political and social problems came prominently to the front. Public interest was, therefore, entirely diverted from philosophy ; indeed, philosophic speculation came to be regarded as something quite superfluous and unproductive. Wherever, on the other hand, philosophy was retained, preference was invariably given to those systems which, founded upon a recognition of the world of nature and society, condemned every deviation from the domain of actual experience as a dangerous procedure.

The tendencies during the middle of the present century were unfavorable to metaphysics. At this time, also, Positivism, in its various phases, came prominently to the front. It entered into combination with the physical sciences, with the theory of evolution, and with the social propaganda, and considered itself as the final consummation of all philosophy.

Yet, eventually, the doctrines of this school no longer sufficed to satisfy the needs of modern mankind ; and the last third of our century has witnessed a mighty counter-movement. We note a return, not exactly to the old doctrines, but rather to the *problems* of idealism. The movement is due to a stronger development of the individual, and to the desire for greater inwardness of life—a desire far transcending the limitations of Positivism. The conditions of human knowledge are investigated anew; we witness a revival of the older systems ; Kant is resuscitated ; Schopenhauer now attains to higher recognition than ever before ; and, in England and America, rather than in Germany, Hegel once more finds enthusiastic adherents. New systems arise,—in Germany, for example, those of Lotze, von Hartmann, and Wundt. But these systems differ from those of older date, inasmuch as they adhere more closely to facts, and give due weight to all the various interests involved. Noteworthy, also, is the care which they display in constructing the world of ideas. To this extent, therefore, the element of realism is embraced within the new idealism; and it appears as if the century, at its close, were concerned in harmonizing the divergent views evolved during its earlier decades. Thesis and antithesis are to be followed by synthesis : idealism and realism are to be reconciled.

This great undertaking, however, has apparently not passed beyond the first stages ; and the advent of a new century finds the view of life presented by our philosophy not only incomplete, but full of problems. The achievements of philosophy within the present century are to be found not so much in the creation of systems as in the

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establishment of numerous methods of inquiry, and in the closer relation to, and the mutual coöperation with, the general activity of the age. In this way philosophy has been enriched by an inexhaustible mass of material, and has been freighted with a multitude of problems. These problems, elevated to a philosophical plane, become universal in their bearing ; the various lines of thought converge ; facts become resolved into principles ; and thus the science enlarges its sphere, and reacts most favorably upon the various circles of activity. Philosophy, therefore, does not appear in the rôle of a sovereign mistress, but as a mere member of a group. The science no longer possesses the power to create great revolutions, but is compelled to operate within a given sphere. Yet, penetrating, as it does, the whole, vast circle of human effort, it becomes a useful, aye, an indispensable, constituent factor of our civilization, and, therefore, enters as an active participant into all the progressive movements of the period.

This mutual interchange between philosophy and all other activity, deserves our primary consideration. First and foremost we note a fruitful reciprocal relation between philosophy and history. The history of philosophy is specifically a product of the nineteenth century. It is true that somewhat analogous attempts had been made at previous periods. Yet these, after all, were industrious compilations of doctrines rather than expositions of an evolutionary and continuous movement.

The most important factor of progress in this regard is the philosophy of Hegel. Here the attempt is made to define all history as a necessary evolution,—as an independent sequence of interrelated ideas. Here no circumstance is regarded as accidental : every fact is interpreted as constituting a link of an interminable chain. This view has found extension far beyond the confines of the Hegelian School. In every department of modern science we discern an endeavor to establish the correlation of historic events, and to lay the foundation of the general laws governing progress. Realism avails itself of this method, inasmuch as it bases its deductions upon historic proofs. It emphasizes the influences of social conditions upon the formation of ideas ; it reveals the dependence of the individual upon his environment ; and it endeavors to unravel the intricate skein of systems and personalities. Yet realism seeks, also, to avoid an accumulation of data, and zealously endeavors to embrace the infinite variety of detail within one coherent and homogeneous system of historic evolution. It aims, in short, at the establishment of historic laws.

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The history of philosophy has, therefore, become an independent field of investigation, whose researches pierce into the distant past, and extend into the remotest corners of the globe. As specimens of superior excellence in this department of research, I would here mention E. Zeller's History of Greek Philosophy, and K. Fischer's History of Modern Philosophy. These works are an ornament to modern science. Indeed, it must be acknowledged that the Germans are *facile princeps* in this department. The progress in the department of historic investigation has also wrought a transformation in our view of life. We become conscious of our great indebtedness to the past: we realize that we are engaged in carrying on the work of centuries—and this even to the minutest details. We perceive, also, how every change, throughout the vast circle of human activity, affects the department of scientific research in which we are engaged. In this way, our work acquires a firmer foundation, and becomes a link in the great chain of human affairs. We recognize that every age has its limitations, and that the individual stands powerless before the tremendous influences exerted by the race.

If philosophy has been benefited by history, the latter, in turn, has been greatly stimulated by philosophy. At the beginning of the century Hegel believed that all history might be reduced to a single formula. This idea was soon abandoned, however, and a reaction, in the form of a marked antipathy against all philosophy of history, ensued. Nevertheless, the search for some general principle, whereby the great realm of history might be surveyed, has steadily progressed. Thus, all great intellectual movements, in order to vindicate their tenets, have presented history from their own particular points of view. This is true alike of the Positivism of Comte and of Spencer's Theory of Evolution. Socialism, also, has its special philosophy of history. Indeed, the economic factor here involved is constantly receiving greater emphasis, while the ideas, formerly regarded of primary importance, have been relegated to the background. Thus, we perceive that the conflict of ideas has been carried over into the field of history, and that the greater activity displayed in this department may be traced largely to the introduction of the philosophic element.

The relations between philosophy and the natural sciences have likewise undergone a remarkable transformation within the present century. The descriptions and classifications of nature, which had been in vogue during the eighteenth century, were supplanted at the beginning of the present era by Schelling's "Philosophy of Nature,"

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—a philosophy which is characterized by a bold attempt to define the genesis of being, and to reduce the infinitude of creation to a single process. Although subjected to the energetic opposition of the great majority of physicists, the philosophy of Schelling has, nevertheless, served to pave the way for a broader generalization and a closer unification. Indeed, it is within the very sphere of the natural sciences that we now observe the desire for a homogeneous structure, based upon a comprehensive view of life.

This desire found its highest expression in the theory of evolution propounded by Darwin. The latter theory, since then extended into a general philosophy of life, seeks to bring every department of the visible world into accord with its principles. In the department of physics, also, we note a desire to establish the unification of the forces of nature, and to form the multitude of natural phenomena into a coordinate series or chain. Investigations of physicists now also give rise to a peculiar view of life ; and even thinkers who do not entertain this materialistic view cannot but be impressed by the facts submitted. Everywhere the natural conditions of life are brought prominently to the front. The dependence of the mental upon the physical functions, the influence of heredity, etc., are subjected to closer analysis, and at the same time are obtaining a firm hold upon the convictions of the people. In anthropology, man is endeavoring to grasp the relations between himself and his natural environment, and is restlessly seeking the beginning of his development. Especially noteworthy, however, is the close relation now established between the physical sciences and psychology. In its methods of observation and experimentation, as, indeed, in its entire mode of investigation, psychology to-day is closely identified with physical science. Hence the appropriateness of the term "psycho-physics" as applied to it. Here, again, a new and fertile field of investigation has been opened to philosophy. The nations have already been stirred to fruitful competition; and psychological laboratories are gradually spreading over the entire globe.

In all these movements, philosophy has been in closest touch with the physical sciences, and all its views and methods have been modified by this association. As a result, philosophical inquiry has become more lucid and exact. On the other hand, philosophy, by its elaboration and unification of the facts presented, has exerted a most favorable reaction on physics. It may, therefore, be asserted that while philosophy —at the beginning of the century so closely identified with art and belles-lettres—has gradually come, more and more, under the influ-

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ence of the sciences, the latter would never have attained their prominent position had it not been for the valuable aid afforded by this union.

A fruitful relation between philosophy and the social life has also been established during the present era. In the eighteenth century, as also at the beginning of the nineteenth, interest centred in the individual. The development of great and independent personalities was then regarded of primary importance. More recently this interest has been extended to the race. Investigators are examining the nature, structure, and development of our social organism, and are endeavoring to elucidate the relation between the individual and society. In the sphere of action, on the other hand, the improvement of our general social conditions is regarded as paramount to all other considerations; and it is believed that such improvement will redound also to the benefit of the individual.

These convictions necessarily give rise to a new branch of philosophy—the department of sociology; and, coincidently, our general view of life undergoes various modifications. The effect of this movement is noticeable more particularly in the department of ethics. The ethical structure shall no longer rest solely upon a religious or metaphysical foundation; nor shall it be identified altogether with the individual: it shall be developed, rather, by the direct contact of human beings in the midst of life, and thus become a true and vital social principle. Such is the change effected in our conception of ethics. Similarly, our methods of ethical inquiry have taken a new direction. The department of moral science is introduced; while in France, Comte and Taine developed the doctrines of the "Milieu." The traditional conceptions of human action and of the freedom of the individual undergo considerable modification. Everywhere the scope of the individual is recognized to be far more circumscribed than had formerly been supposed. On the other hand, the social structure as a whole acquires strength and solidity; and in this task of social upbuilding all are compelled to take part, while the individual here finds an opportunity to exercise his best energies. Furthermore, all these changes effected in the department of ethics have served to enlarge the circle of philosophic inquiry, with the result of a most favorable reaction upon life in general.

Nowhere does the union between philosophy and general progress become so manifest as in the department of education. It is only within the present century that pedagogics has branched off from the main system; having been formed by Herbart into a new department. The

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science of pedagogics has now created its own methods and its own system of ideas. It sheds its radiance upon every department of training and education. The investigations as to the nature and development of the child, instituted during the last decades, are now also followed with most intense interest. At the same time, the general status of education as compared with that of former centuries has been immeasurably improved. The interest of all classes of society has been awakened; while an ardent rivalry has been inaugurated among the civilized nations. Everywhere we hear energetic protests against mechanical routine; while the substitution of science as a basis is gradually receiving wider extension.

The ever closer union, also, between theory and practice will undoubtedly be mutually advantageous to each of these departments. An extensive field of unremitting and industrious research will be opened to the survey of theory; while a multitude of problems will arise for solution—problems involving the question of a higher human culture, and important in their bearing upon education and training. Practical work, on the other hand, will be stimulated by the vitalizing power of science; for without the science of pedagogy, we should never have witnessed that marvellous development of our educational system, which has become the pride and boast of our age.

The finesse and exactitude of methods, so characteristic of our modern scientific investigation, have not been without their effects on philosophy. Never has there been a century so prolific of scientific achievement as the present; and this progress is due, in a high degree, to a proper appreciation of the technical and logical elements. Modern science seeks to penetrate beyond the narrow zone of human knowledge into the vast and illimitable. To this end a constant process of linking and uniting is requisite: no progress is possible unless effected by a strictly logical procedure. Another distinct tendency of modern science is its minute analysis. No longer content with superficial descriptions, it seeks to understand and to reveal the inmost nature of things. By means of its subtle analysis, it has resolved the cosmic organism into minutest elements, and endeavors in these to discover the primary laws of life and motion. Aided by the idea of evolution, it traces historical development from primitive conditions to the most advanced stage of culture. By this means, philosophy reëstablishes that universal interrelation which, in the course of special inquiry, is necessarily lost to view.

All this involves an extremely complicated and extensive mental

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process, in the course of which great theories are elaborated—theories occasionally fraught with daring hypotheses, which, however, are invariably substantiated in great part by a conscientious arraignment of facts ; for, unless supported by convincing evidence, scientific progress is to-day impossible. The various methods of inquiry, also, are characterized by considerable diversity, each of which is adapted to the special science with which it is identified ; and problems naturally arise from a comparison of these methods.

All these circumstances again serve to develop a special branch of philosophy—the study of methods. Even the most sceptical critic of philosophy must admit that the science has here an important mission to fulfil ; for philosophy alone can treat the question of method independently of the subject considered. It can elucidate the relation between the conditions and premises and the actual achievement, survey the special sciences and compare them, and render a faithful report of the general status of scientific knowledge. On the other hand, philosophy becomes enabled to exercise a most favorable reaction upon the separate sciences. It elucidates their mission, and stimulates to critical introspection. Moreover, it is in touch with every department of investigation, directing attention to the general problems involved.

Ever since the days of Bacon, the English have been the leading exponents of philosophic methods ; and this supremacy endured even into the present century, when Howell and Mill were acknowledged leaders in this department. Other nations, however, have since united with the English ; and their combined efforts have been productive of excellent results. Our age has been very prolific in this department of literature ; and of the long list of works produced, that of Sigwart is probably the most advanced and complete.

Thus we see that the modern treatment of the subject of methods is very comprehensive. It takes cognizance of the entire circle of human activity, as classified, broadened, and harmonized by philosophic thought. This is true, also, of the science of philosophy as a whole. During the present century, philosophy has been embraced within a very wide circle, and could exert little or no influence without a due regard to an intricate web of conditions. It has, consequently, lost somewhat of that lofty strain, those soaring ideas, which once distinguished it ; nor does it possess so high a degree of unity and completeness as formerly. On the other hand, the science to-day stands in closest relation to every department of life ; it has acquired and assimilated an enormous amount of material; and all its statements are based

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upon a recognition of the visible world, in the affairs of which it participates as an immediate factor. In short, philosophy coördinates the sum total of human achievement ; and this very coördination entitles it to rank as a primary agent in the progress of the time.

These vicissitudes in the department of philosophy have been accompanied by a change of attitude on the part of the people at large. Formerly, the progress of the science was identified with a few men of genius, who established independent schools, each with its votaries. To-day, in consequence of the close relation between the science and the various departments of activity, philosophy has found acceptance in wider circles. The difference between the schools is less marked, while examples of individual leadership are fewer. The violent strife of former times has been allayed ; and the science to-day may be described as a quiet and incessant aggregation of facts. Philosophy has lost its aristocratic features, and has become more democratic in character.

A similar adjustment of differences has taken place as regards the national bearing of the question. Formerly each nation developed its systems independently ; and although international influences were by no means rare, the various types were usually distinguished by well-defined differences. All this has changed within the present century; and the last fifty years have beheld an ever closer rapprochement between the nations. The bonds of union are ever becoming stronger and more numerous ; the means of communication, swifter and more direct. The significance of the labor question, also, is now universally understood, and has assumed international importance.

Germany and England have been the leaders in philosophy during the present century. The achievements of France are also deserving of marked recognition. Particularly noteworthy, however, has been the appearance of America upon this field of scientific inquiry. It is true that the beginnings of the science in America date from the eighteenth century. Edwards' text-books on the "History of Philosophy" still maintain their place ; while Benjamin Franklin has found a wide appreciation because of his sound philosophic views. Yet, upon the whole, American philosophy, far into the present century, was merely an appendix to theology. Especially noteworthy, therefore, is the emancipation of the science in America, and its development to a state of independence, if not of universality. It must be acknowledged that every prominent philosophical movement of the century has met with a cordial reception and hearty coöperation in America. Probably the

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strongest European influences in this regard were those of the Scottish School and of the German speculative philosophy; and a harmonious blending of both may be found in the system of Noah Porter. Later, the indefatigable labors of Dr. Harris promoted a still closer acquaintance with German philosophy on the part of the American public. Especially noteworthy, by reason of its moral grandeur and lofty independence, is the view of life elaborated in the "Transcendentalism" of Emerson. The views of this great thinker undoubtedly exert a powerful influence upon the human emotions, and upon literature in general: their bearing upon the technical development of the science, however, is less marked.

Realism also has numerous adherents in the United States; the theory of evolution, for example, finding two distinguished exponents in Draper and Fiske. It is upon this theory also that Carus' system of "Monism" is based, though the ideal factors of life are here strongly accentuated. But it is in the cultivation of the separate branches of the science that America has become particularly conspicuous. In the department of psychology, for example, America to-day occupies a position of the first magnitude. The text-book of James is very extensively used in Europe, and the work of Baldwin has aroused universal interest. Ladd and Hall, also, enjoy an international reputation. Nowhere is the psychology of the child so actively prosecuted as in the United States. Anthropology is prominently represented by Morgan and Powell; sociology, by Giddings; while the ethical movement finds one of its principal leaders in Salter.

In the department of pedagogics, Herbart has been introduced, and has found numerous followers. At the same time, we note a counter-movement in favor of an independent furtherance of pedagogical ideas. Dr. Harris undertakes to establish the science of culture upon a new foundation; while the editor of THE FORUM, Dr. Rice, is laboring with indefatigable zeal to bring about a closer unification between pedagogical practice and science. Nor has the new idealism been, by any means, inoperative. Kant and Hegel are highly esteemed, and Lotze finds many prominent supporters, conspicuously Bowne and Green; the latter being especially popular in England. It is true that all these movements are closely connected with European systems; yet the careful observer cannot fail to discern in them distinctively characteristic features. Doubtless, the approaching century will witness a still greater development of American philosophy, and a closer union of all the various elements which it has absorbed.

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Philosophy is entering upon a new era, fraught with serious problems. Great as were the achievements of the science during the nineteenth century, its development has been one-sided. While it has stimulated human activity, and has operated everywhere, it affords but little to the soul and the personality of man. During the past century, man, as an entity, has not been accorded his full rights; for modern philosophy contributes nothing to the unity of the inner life. Furthermore, the individual, carried along in the ceaseless whirl of labor, gradually loses all sense of equipoise and all consciousness of a self-centred personality. The formidable dangers thus resulting from the tyranny of labor are gradually becoming more manifest toward the close of the century. We realize that man is superior to his work, and that labor, with its infinite ramifications, threatens wholly to absorb the individual, to specialize him according to his task, and to degrade him to the level of a machine. Individuality is crushed by the Moloch of labor. This is the reason why, during the past few decades, the personality of the individual has again been brought to the front, with a demand for fuller recognition and broader development.

Yet, despite all this, we cannot afford to dispense with the splendid successes secured within the nineteenth century. The changes which have been effected may not be annulled. We are, therefore, confronted by the great task of continuing the work bequeathed to us, while emphasizing the personality of man and the necessity of his fuller development. The eighteenth century secured the emancipation of the individual; the nineteenth has insured the rights of society at large; and it devolves upon the twentieth to harmonize these differences. To this end, however, there must be effected a radical change in our ideas of life; a new relation between man and nature must be established; and the inner life must undergo a considerable transformation. Great and serious, therefore, are the problems—international in their scope—devolving upon philosophy in the coming century. Yet, in the great work thus allotted to future generations, the mighty achievements of the nineteenth century will surely survive.

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

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## CRIMINAL LEGISLATION BY PROXY.

In the city of New York there has been evolved, in recent years, an extensive and important system of criminal legislation which is seriously opposed to the traditional American ideas in regard to the making of punitive laws, and which, in the judgment of some, violates the spirit of the Constitution.

The ordinary processes for the enactment of criminal legislation lie in the passage by the Legislature of laws which state crime and provide for its punishment, as well as in the passage, by boards of aldermen and municipal assemblies, of ordinances prohibiting objectionable actions. These steps are marked (1) by publicity through the newspapers, the introduction of such measures being watched by the members of the press; (2) by careful and intelligent examination on the part of the proper committees, who amend the proposed laws and report upon them; (3) by discussion, the bills being subjected to debate before passage; and (4) by submitting the proposed measures to the veto power of the executive head of the Government.

It is often a difficult matter to secure beneficent amendments to the criminal laws of the State, because the presentation of the proper reasons therefor involves considerable time and labor; but we feel that it is right that propositions to deprive citizens of their liberty or their substance by punitive enactments should meet with numerous obstacles.

If the Senate, the Assembly, and the Governor should delegate to a committee outside of the Legislature their power to make criminal laws, or if the Board of Aldermen, the Municipal Assembly, and the Mayor should select an outside committee to make their ordinances, we would at once realize the perversion of one of their legislative functions, and take measures to stop it; but that is very nearly what has been and is now being done in New York city.

The city government has been divided into various departments—executive, legislative, and administrative; and this division is maintained in the new charter. The making of ordinances is an appropriate function of the legislative department, whose members have been

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elected by popular vote. This department directly represents the people, and, both theoretically and practically, constitutes the appropriate lawmaking body below the State Legislature. Now, the point to which I wish to direct attention in this article is, that certain of the administrative departments, contrary to all our notions of the enactments of criminal legislation, have been given the power by the Legislature to adopt ordinances, rules, and regulations, the violation of which amounts to crime, and is declared in advance of the enactment to be a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and identical with the misdemeanors that are carefully elaborated at Albany, and spread on the statute-books of the State. For instance :

(1) The Dock Board, which now consists of J. Sergeant Cram, a lawyer, Peter F. Meyer, an auctioneer, and Charles F. Murphy, a liquor dealer, has power expressed in this language :

"The board of docks shall establish and enforce all needful rules and regulations for the government and proper care of all the property placed in its charge, . . . and shall furnish a copy of such rules and regulations to all the owners and occupants of such property, and shall make all needful orders necessary to carry the provisions of this chapter relating thereto into effect, and *fix penalties* for disobeying such rules, regulations, or orders, and shall publish such orders. *The violation of, or disobedience to, any rule, regulation, or order of said board of docks shall be a misdemeanor, punishable* by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment, on complaint of such board of docks."

In its wide range of power, a majority of this Board may pass resolutions concerning the use, occupation, and traffic on the docks, wharves, piers, bulkheads, and adjacent land, without prior notice of their intention, without public debate, and without concurrent action by any other body. Without submitting these resolutions to the veto of the Executive, the Board is empowered to cause the arrest, conviction, and punishment of citizens who may never have heard of them.

(2) The Park Board, which now consists of George C. Clausen, president of the Sicilian Asphalt Paving Company, August Moebus, a brewer, and George V. Brower, a lawyer, has these powers :

"The board shall also have power by a vote of a majority of its members to enact ordinances for the government and protection of all parks, parkways, squares, and public places within the city ; and the same shall at all times be subject to all such ordinances as to the use and occupation thereof and in respect to any erections or encumbrances thereon. Any persons violating any of such ordinances shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction before a city magistrate, be punished by a fine not exceeding fifty dollars, or, in default of payment of such fine, by imprisonment not exceeding thirty days."

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The effect of this ordinance is to bring prosecutions in a court which has no jury, thus denying to defendants the right given to all misdemeanants to be tried in the court of special sessions. Another provision of the law gives to each of said Commissioners general jurisdiction in a particular borough. One of the Commissioners dictated to a typewriter his own individual order restricting the use of a certain public road to a special class of persons, under penalty of a fine of ten dollars. A gentleman who undertook to ride a prohibited vehicle on the road was promptly arrested by a policeman, whose sole authority was a typewritten copy of the order. He was conveyed to prison and to court, was adjudged a criminal, and fined.

(3) The Health Board, now composed of Michael C. Murphy and Bernard J. York, politicians, and William T. Jenkins, John B. Cosby, and Alvah H. Doty, physicians, has most sweeping powers of criminal legislation. It has enacted a sanitary code containing nearly two hundred sections, covering nearly every matter that can touch life and health. The violation of any one of these sections is a misdemeanor. In the authorizing law of the State are these words :

"Said board of health is hereby authorized and empowered, from time to time, to add to or to alter, amend, or annul any part of the said sanitary code, and may therein publish additional provisions for the security of life and health in the city of New York. . . . The board of health may embrace therein all matters and subjects to which, and so far as, the power and authority of said department of health extends, *not limiting their application to the subject of health only*. . . . Any violation of said code or its amendments shall be treated and punished as a misdemeanor ; and the offender shall *also* be liable to pay a penalty of fifty dollars," etc.

Under this broad power, the Health Board has adopted, among other things, an arbitrary standard for the purity of milk, and enforces it without regard to criminal intent. It has forbidden the sale of milk except under its own license, under penalty of conviction for misdemeanor. By unscrupulous exercise of such powers, the business in many foods might be not only hampered, but also corruptly monopolized.

The Board of Public Improvements, the Commissioner of Street Cleaning, and the Commissioner of Water Supply may draft ordinances and regulations concerning the matters in their charge ; but they must be submitted to the Municipal Assembly to be passed and published as ordinances.

The policy of permitting crimes to be created and punishments prescribed, by delegating the authority of the Legislature to the boards controlling city departments, whose members are not elected by the

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people—especially with the wide range of discretion allowed—is un-American and dangerous. In the warfare between Tammany and the Manhattan Railway Company, it is entirely possible for the Board of Health to adopt resolutions shaped to the needs of the fight, which resolutions, by reason of their criminal penalties, will interfere with the operation of the railroad, whether it be really dangerous to health or not.

When it is not practicable for the Legislature to determine the minor enactments necessary in cities to carry the general purposes of the Legislature into effect, it should throw the duty of auxiliary criminal legislation on the popular assemblies, the direct representatives of the people; so that the enactments may be subjected to the regular legislative methods, and published in the body of city ordinances. It would be wise, however, to allow to the administrative departments the privilege of proposing such legislation. FRANK MOSS.



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## COTTON-SPINNING AT SHANGHAI.

THE manufacture of cotton goods by machinery in China—with Chinese, cheap, silver-paid labor, with raw cotton to be purchased in the vicinity, and with a market for the finished articles at hand—was, for many years, an enterprise that appealed strongly to the foreign merchant at Shanghai. It seemed that if piece-goods imported from America and England could be profitably sold in China, in competition with the product of native hand-looms, the building of modern factories on Chinese soil would afford even a more certain profit.

Prior to 1895, frequent efforts were made to obtain the consent of China to the inauguration of this industry; but the Government resisted, on the ground that steam factories, on a large scale, would derange a native industry and throw Chinese spinners out of employment. The merchants alleged that the treaties with China gave them the right to manufacture or to follow any other pursuit; but, unfortunately, in no treaty was this right expressly postulated. The British treaty of 1843 provides that British subjects may "reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits," at certain cities. The American treaty of 1859 allows Americans to reside in certain places and to "trade there." The Prussian treaty of 1861 allows citizens of the German states to "reside in, frequent, and carry on trade or industry" at Shanghai and other places. The Chinese argued that "mercantile pursuits," "trade," and "industry" could not be read to cover manufacturing; and they maintained their position. It must be explained, however, that no determined effort was made by the foreign ministers at Peking to carry the point. As far as English and American merchants were concerned, they received but lukewarm support from their governments. It was naturally held at Washington and at London, that to demand the right to build great factories in China, to compete with those at home, would be to insist on an uncertain advantage; that, in fact, the interests of New England and of Manchester were really subserved by the attitude of China.

In 1895, this question was solved by the victorious Japanese. Paragraph 4 of article vi of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed April 17,

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1895, provides that "Japanese subjects shall be free to engage in all kinds of manufacturing industries in all the open cities, towns, and ports of China, and shall be at liberty to import into China all kinds of machinery, paying only the stipulated import duties thereon." This put an end to the controversy and opened the door to a vista of industrial activity in China, the possible development of which cannot be overestimated.

Cotton-yarn spinning was one of the first industries to be inaugurated under this newly granted privilege. But, curiously enough, no Japanese mills have been started; and the Japanese must be somewhat chagrined to have been the means of granting to foreigners, at Shanghai, the right to compete with their own mills at Kobe and Osaka. The inducements to enter this new industry may be gathered from the statistics. The latter show that China imports cotton goods to the extent of about $60,000,000 annually. These goods consist of millions of pieces of drill-sheetings, jeans, shirtings, towels, velvets, lawns, muslins, etc.; constituting by far the largest item in the import trade of China. It is gratifying to observe that American cottons are particularly in demand, and that they surpass, in quantity imported, those of any other country. The Chinese, however, like to weave the coarser grades of cotton themselves; for which reason they buy cotton-yarn and have it made into cloth, in their own homes. Even before the mills were started at Shanghai, yarn was imported in considerable quantities; and, in 1897, the amount of English, Japanese, and Indian yarn sold in China amounted to more than two hundred million pounds.

There are now five large mills at Shanghai. They are all on or near the Hwangpu River, and have private jetties carried into it to facilitate the handling of cargo. Of these mills, four were started originally under foreign supervision, as follows: The Soy Che Cotton Spinning Company, Limited, with 40,000 spindles, under the management of Messrs. Arnhold, Karberg & Co.; the International Cotton Manufacturing Company, Limited, with 40,000 spindles, under the control of the American Trading Company; the Laou Kung Mow Cotton Spinning and Weaving Company, Limited, with 25,000 spindles, under the control of Messrs. Ilbert & Co.; the Ewo Cotton Spinning and Weaving Company, Limited, with 50,000 spindles, under the control of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co. The fifth is the Ya Loong Company, with 22,000 spindles, formerly a Chinese company, but now managed by Messrs. Fearon, Daniel & Co.

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To this total of 177,000 spindles, now in operation, an addition of 100,000 is about to be made by the Soy Che and Ewo companies. All the machinery for these mills is English. It was supplied, for the most part, by Asa Lees & Co., Oldham; though some of it came from Tweedale of Rochdale, from Platt of Oldham, and from Howard & Buller of Accrington. At present, the work of these mills is still limited to cotton-yarn spinning. In spite of their names they have not, as yet, begun to weave cloth. On account of the varying hours of labor, it is impossible to give an accurate statement of their output. Some of them are working ten hours a day, and others as many as twenty-two. A forty-thousand-spindle mill, running two shifts, night and day, will employ about 2,500 Chinese operatives, and produce about 1,600 bales of yarn a month.

Messrs. Arnhold, Karberg & Co.'s mill, the Soy Che, is the most active and best managed of them all; and an examination of it will show Chinese labor, in this new occupation, in its best light. This mill is located in a suburb of Shanghai, known as Pootung. It is in a handsome, gray-brick building, trimmed with red; and there are other buildings adjoining, which are used as offices, warehouses, machine-shops, and dwellings for Chinese workmen. This mill, which is now running 40,000 spindles, is so arranged as to allow the capacity to be increased to 80,000. The mill was equipped by Asa Lees & Co. of Oldham, and is lighted by electricity. The cost of the entire property was about $700,000. In appearance and efficiency, it is up to the latest development of the spinning art.

The Soy Che runs two shifts, night and day, twenty-two hours and a half in all, and employs 2,200 Chinese—men, women, and children. The day-shift consists of carders, 295; spinners, 495; reelers, 210; in engine-room, 65; and waste-pickers, 100. The wages are paid biweekly, and range from 5 to 17 cents a day, according to ability. Most of these workers are rude, country people, who were brought into the mill some two years ago, without manual training and without any knowledge as to what would be required of them. It speaks well for them, however, that the productive capacity of this mill has increased 25 per cent in one year. The gain has been due mainly to the fact, that the more intelligent operatives have changed from day- to piece-work. The pickers are mostly women, who are paid by the pound, and earn about 5 cents a day. This work suits them better than the spindles: first, because picking can be done in a sitting posture, and can be diversified by friendly gossip, as well as by attention to the

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never-absent baby; and second, because nearly all of them have small feet—a circumstance which prevents them from moving about quickly, and causes them soon to grow tired. The bound foot is a fatal drawback to Chinese female labor; and the increased demand for women operatives, in manufacturing, may lead to the abandonment, in the coming generation, of a cruel and foolish practice. "Olo custom" could maintain its sway when it was desirable to keep the women at home; but, among the poorer classes, it can hardly stand the test of the difference in the earning capacity of a "natural-footed" girl, as compared with that of her crippled sister. It is often found that the most deeply-rooted Chinese prejudices may be removed—as are the ancestral graves along proposed railroad routes—by the argument of money.

There are no laws in China concerning hours of labor, the employment of children, or Sunday observances. The Chinese will work twelve or fourteen hours a day; and parents are willing to hire out their children at as early an age as it is found profitable to employ them. This is no hardship to the children, who come from a class with whom the alternative lies between vicious idleness and ignoble toil. And, as for education, it is better training for them to watch the play of engines—the latest product of Western mechanical skill—than to gather refuse along the country roads. As yet, the mills under foreign control do not run on Sundays; but, there being no law to the contrary, they may do so in the future, if the markets so require.

Messrs. Arnhold, Karberg & Co. are now putting out from their mill from 450 to 480 bales of cotton-yarn a week, of the four grades—or counts—of 10*s*., 14*s*., 16*s*., and 20*s*., and are consuming for this purpose from 1,500 to 1,800 piculs[1] of cotton every six working days. The yarn is sold chiefly in the city of Shanghai, whence it is taken to the inland cities and towns, to be woven into cloth by hand in thousands of Chinese homes. The cotton used in these mills is Chinese, Indian, and American.

The Chinese cotton is produced chiefly in the provinces along the Yangtze River. The amount produced, however, cannot be estimated. That it is very great is clear from the fact that, in addition to that sold to the foreign mills at Shanghai, Japan takes from three to five million dollars' worth annually; and the consumption of all the Chinese and Japanese mills combined is inconsiderable when compared with the quantity consumed, on the domestic looms, in the millions of homes

[1] A picul is 133⅓ English pounds.

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of inland China. Chinese cotton is inferior to both the Indian and the American; the fibre being short and lacking in "twist." The Indian is superior to it in twist, the American in length of fibre. To produce the finer grades of cotton-yarn, 25 per cent of American or Indian cotton is mixed with the Chinese. Again, owing to the fact that the Chinese cotton parts easily, the spindles cannot be run at full speed when it is used.

There are still other serious drawbacks to its use. Foreign experts say it fails to produce the proper percentage of yarn; and this is attributed to the vicious custom of wetting it to increase the weight. The waste is also unusually heavy. For these reasons and others the cotton of America and India continues in demand, though paying an import duty of 5 per cent. The import of raw cotton, in 1896, was about 13,000,000 lbs.; and, in 1897, it was almost twice that amount. In the face of this importation, China exported last year nearly 500,000 piculs of raw cotton, which went almost entirely to Japan. Being carefully picked by hand, Chinese cotton has the advantage over the imported article in cleanliness and purity. The cost of the native cotton in Shanghai, at present, is 14 taels per picul, or about $50 the 100 lbs.

The availability of Chinese labor in cotton mills suggests its adaptability to other industries as well. If Chinese labor—of which there is an enormous supply—should prove generally effective, and remain as cheap as it is at present, the outcry against the "yellow peril" is indeed a warning to which the Western world should give heed. Labor at 10 cents a day of twelve working hours, without a day of rest, is a prospect appalling to the hardiest competitor. The safeguard against it lies in two circumstances; (1) it is not effective, it having been estimated that three good Chinese laborers are about equal to one foreigner; and (2) although the wage standard must always be below that of the West, it cannot remain as cheap as it is now. It is, however, difficult to consider the Chinese laborer in his individual capacity. He is too gregarious for that, and too much subject to leadership. Moreover, as a class, the Chinese are lazy and disposed to shirk. They are hard to control, averse to being driven, and fond of banding together. They steal, if not carefully watched; they are slipshod and inaccurate; and they require constant foreign supervision to maintain the standard of their work. The last is a serious matter; for the average cost of Chinese labor is largely increased when, to the pay-roll, is added the cost of a number of highly-paid, foreign supervisors. In this

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respect the mills of Japan have the advantage ; because the Japanese organize better, and get on without the foreign foreman.

One of the most serious difficulties involved in Chinese labor is the fact to which I have already alluded; namely, that the laborers, so to speak, go in "gangs ; " each gang subjecting itself to some one leader or controller. It is usually through this man that they have secured their job. They look up to him, and secretly hand over to him part of their pay. They practically look upon him as their employer. They will obey him ; and, at his command, they will leave work or demand more wages—just as laboring men do in other countries, at the behest of a trade-union. The leader is often unknown to the foreign employer, who has no means of getting at him. This is only one of the many ways in which the insidious system of "squeeze" corrupts and hampers that country.

Whether or not these defects can be remedied, the future alone can tell. Education, closer association with foreigners, and the extension of the system of piece-work may make a different and more effective man of the Chinese laborer ; but, on the other hand, such general advancement will cause the low wage-rate to disappear. Except in the case of coolie labor, the Chinese in America do not work for less than their competitors of other races ; and a similar condition is sure to develop in China. As yet, not more than ten or twelve thousand Chinese are employed in the mills of Shanghai ; but even this comparatively insignificant demand for operatives has increased the wage-rate to a noticeable degree. When the employment of hundreds of thousands of laborers will be needed to aid in the construction of the proposed railroads, and in the manifold industries which will spring up as a result of the railroads, the wages will probably rise out of all proportion to their worth. It is too early, however, for America to take serious alarm at this Asiatic danger. For decades to come superiority of organization, greater abundance of capital, greater intelligence on the part of the workingmen, and greater genius for invention will keep the mills of America ahead of this rivalry ; and perhaps, in years to come, the problem will have so changed its nature, that the danger point will never be reached.

Thus far, the Shanghai mills have scarcely fulfilled the expectations of their founders. When they first began to operate, some two years ago, everything was rose-colored. The stock advanced from par to a premium of from 10 to 16 per cent. On the other hand, there has been recently a decided retrogression ; and there is not a mill in Shang-

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hai whose stock cannot be purchased to-day at a discount of from 10 to 50 per cent. Careful investigation, however, points to the conclusion that this depression is due to temporary causes only, which are destined soon to disappear. Among the latter may be mentioned: First, the money stringency in Shanghai, and the consequent rise in the loaning rate. Second, an unusually high exchange rate, which has stimulated importation, at the expense of local profits. A third reason is thus stated in a recent report of one of the mills: "The high price of cotton, during the past twelve months, has militated against profitable results; while the deplorable state of the yarn market, owing to Shanghai having become the 'dumping ground' for the overproduction of Bombay and Japan, has led to a range of prices below the cost of production." Not long ago a British ship landed 6,000 bales in one cargo—an amount equal to the output of the three largest local mills for a month. Some of the mills will be little benefited by the present low prices of cotton; having loaded themselves up with it when prices were high. Of all the mills the Soy Che has been least affected. It continues to run night and day, and its stock is quoted at a discount of only 10 per cent.

Though subject to periods of depression, the outlook for the future of cotton-spinning in Shanghai is favorable. It is, indeed, safe to predict, that the industry will become a great one, and that it will constantly increase in importance. Labor is as cheap in China as it is in Japan; and American and Indian raw cotton can be laid down as cheaply in the former country as in the latter. There is a great market at the door of the mills—a market protected by an import duty of 5 per cent. If, in spite of these advantages, the cotton industry in China should eventually fail, it would seem vain to hope for success in any other line of Chinese manufacture. CHARLES DENBY, JR.

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## A WORD TO THE NEXT SPEAKER.

On the first Monday in next December, unless unforeseen events occur, you, Gen. David B. Henderson, will be elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. The position is one of remarkable power and honor. It was formerly only twice removed from the Presidency; and, although the line of succession has been properly diverted, there is no diminution of its glory. Speakers of the House have been in the past, and will continue to be in the future, important factors in moulding the country's history; and you may well feel honored that upon you will fall the mantle so worthily worn by many, notably Clay, Colfax, Blaine, Randall, and Reed.

It will seem strange in this day and generation to see the gavel in the hands of a Republican other than Mr. Thomas B. Reed. Nothing but the latter's voluntary choice could make this possible. Mr. Reed is such a dominating character, he towers so loftily above all his colleagues in the House, that the distinction of leadership would naturally be accorded to him, with unanimity, as long as he desired to accept it. As the immediate successor to so great a man as Mr. Reed, you will suffer, at first, from comparison. It is fortunate, therefore, that you are, in natural temperament and characteristics, his very antithesis. For instance, Mr. Reed is a master of sarcasm; you do not know the meaning of the word. He is cold, satirical, and calculating; you are warm and generous-hearted. He is not companionable; you could not and would not avoid sociability. He moves like a massive car of Juggernaut, not hesitating to crush even the prostrate forms in his path; your genial and sunshiny nature would shrink from inflicting a wound. He measures every word with careful precision, while you pour forth eloquent sentences with volcanic force and prodigal indifference. In scores of other characteristics the contrast is equally marked; but I have enumerated sufficient to show that, at least, you will not be a miniature Reed. You will be Henderson. Consequently, you will be judged by your own standard; and you possess an individuality that will prevent your being veiled in the shadow of the physical and mental giant whose place you are to occupy.

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It is extremely fortunate that you have had many years of experience in Congressional life ; that you are a good politician ; that you are a man of broad views, and endowed with the prime quality of common sense, developed in large degree. You are to preside over the House at a time most critical in the history of the Republican party ; and your sphere of influence is so extended—your power for good or evil so great—that the result of the next Presidential election rests largely in your hands. Grave problems confront the country. The means for subduing the present conflict in the Philippines, the enactment of laws to govern our new possessions, and the determination of the party's course regarding financial legislation will come before Congress at its next session—to say nothing of the hundreds of subjects which are minor only in point of comparison.

You will be opposed by an alert and critical minority, whose tactics may greatly disturb your temper. It is a minority which, with the addition of seven votes, would become a majority. Happily, your party is well disciplined and well organized, and the manner in which individual preferences are subordinated to the good of the whole is remarkable. Were it not for this, you might well look forward with some anxiety to the future. Even as it is, there will be a strong temptation to increase the Republican representation, by the ousting of Democrats who hold certificates of election and the seating of Republicans who claim that these certificates are fraudulent. Mr. Reed, you well remember, was confronted with the same situation at the beginning of the Fifty-first Congress, and yielded his partisan soul to the opportunity. The result was a spectacle odious alike to gods and men. You may recall the scenes of turmoil and disorder which disgraced the House when Mr. Reed passed the narrow Rubicon of one majority, by forcibly ousting Democrats who were fairly entitled to their seats, and installing Republicans whose votes were needed.

Many causes led to the political landslide which gave the Democrats an unprecedented majority in the Fifty-second Congress ; but certainly not the least potent was the feeling of resentment, which spread over the country, against the high-handed and indefensible proceedings for which Speaker Reed was primarily responsible. Do not, I beg of you, make a similar mistake. There may be Democrats whose moral and legal right to hold seats in the next House is seriously in question. Let these contests be adjudicated after impartial and thorough investigation. If the decision is in favor of the contestant, let it be recorded in dignified fashion. You will find, however, that many

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of the contests will be based in reality on the expectation, that the narrow Republican majority in the House will make the ejection of Democrats a political necessity. Therefore, move slowly. Profit by the error of your predecessor. Do not shock the country with an exhibition of brutal and unjust partisanship. You know and admire the inherent love of fairness in the American people. It is superior to party devotion ; it is the chief glory of our race. If the Republicans in the House, under your leadership, increase their majority through the riotous exercise of force, it will be a barren victory, gained at a degrading cost.

The autocratic methods inaugurated by Speaker Reed were endured, because he was greater than any one man or any set of men in the House. He was so masterly, that mutiny was discouraged in its very inception. He ruled with a rod of iron ; and, although some murmured, the very inflexibility of his will commanded admiration. It is extremely doubtful whether you will be intrusted with such enormous individual authority, or be obeyed with such implicity. Speaker Reed was, literally, the House of Representatives. He framed his committees in accordance with his views of what legislation ought to be, and recognized only those members whose measures had previously received his approval. Moreover, through a Committee on Rules, in which his voice was supremely decisive, he determined the course of business for the House ; ignoring projects which did not suit his purposes, and ordering the consideration of those upon which he desired action. To this imperious domination the Republicans of the House bent their necks in rare submission. Each member, because he dared not openly oppose a strength so much greater than his own, sacrificed his individuality, and ran the risk of defeat at the polls for his failure to accomplish results. But you, General Henderson, are not of the same mould as Mr. Reed. You were not born with that unique genius of command which compels unquestioning obedience ; and the undisputed sway accorded to Mr. Reed will not be transferred to you.

In the first place, the next Speaker will not be allowed to appoint the Committee on Rules, which guides the destinies of the House. The outlook is, that the same caucus which nominates you for the Speakership, by acclamation, will select the Committee on Rules. You will be wise if you accept this curtailment of the Speaker's power without protest. Under such a system, each member of the House will become a co-sharer with you in the responsibility for legislation. If the results are satisfactory, your administration will be praised ;

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while the individual Republican Congressmen will experience a personal delight in having contributed to the happy outcome. If the plan does not succeed—and I see no likelihood of failure—the blame will not lie at your door, but must be borne by those who devised and supported the new plan. You have everything to gain and nothing to lose by inviting the coöperation of your fellow-members. The nearer you get to their plane, the greater will be party harmony and solidification. In the entire membership of the House there is no one—not even the next Speaker—who can establish himself upon a pedestal, and from his lonely height control a silent and obedient following.

And yet, in the main, if you desire to preserve discipline and retain management, you must be as autocratic and as dogmatic as your predecessor. This is not to your liking. Your temperament is different. You will desire to please the greatest number with the minimum amount of personal disappointment. Mr. Reed was superior to individuals. He could refuse the request of his closest friend with resolute firmness, and then dismiss the unpleasant incident without another thought. You will find it difficult to say "no" even to a political opponent. Herein, as I read your character, you will experience your most serious difficulty, your gravest danger.

There are men in the House to-day who are well aware of your familiar manner, your prompt and cordial promises to support their measures. These men look forward to your election to the Speakership with unconcealed pleasure. They could make no impression upon the imperturbable Reed; but they believe that your large and generous heart will still be responsive to all their demands. To these men, however, you must be as adamant. If you yield to one you must yield to all, or else incur the charge of discrimination. Unless you are firm, you will invite excesses and pandemonium. The House is a Pandora's box, filled with schemes for unwise and extravagant legislation. Speaker Reed never opened the lid but once; and when he had yielded, there issued forthwith a cloud of public-building bills. For three days the House engaged in a disgraceful raid upon the United States Treasury; voting millions of dollars to erect costly structures in prairie villages, with total disregard of all sense of decency and public economy. The folly of allowing the House to pursue its unbridled way having thus been demonstrated, Mr. Reed closed the box again, and order was restored. This incident ought not to be without its lesson.

Great pressure will be brought to bear upon you for additional pension legislation. This will appeal to you with especial tenderness. You

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have always been the champion of the Union veteran ; one of your first utterances in Congress, as I now recall it, being in behalf of larger pensions. I do not believe that you have advocated generous provision for the old soldiers in the spirit of a demagogue. Your speeches have simply been the sincere expression of your warm-hearted nature ; and because, having been a gallant officer yourself, you know from experience the wounds and privations suffered by those who fought to sustain the Union. When you enter the Speaker's chair, there will be a feeling of discontent throughout the country, because of the present Pension Commissioner's attempt to rigidly execute the laws now upon the statute-books. Pension attorneys, whose profits have been materially reduced by this exactitude, will insist—and with some degree of plausibility—that Congress must neutralize this sentiment with favorable laws. The temptation to accede to this demand will be all the stronger by reason of the approach of the Presidential campaign, and because Mr. Reed has for four years sturdily refused to allow the enactment of general pension legislation. You will be wise, however, if you proceed in this matter with caution. With the Government expending $140,000,000 in pensions thirty-five years after the close of the Civil War, there can be no legitimate reason to complain that the old soldier has not been generously remembered.

No one, I take it, begrudges to the man who ruined his health, or to the widow of the man who sacrificed his life for the preservation of the Union, some provision for support ; but I do not believe I exaggerate when I say that the limit of concession has been reached. The country will not agree without protest to increased appropriations in this direction. Much less will it countenance rapacity on the part of the pension attorneys, to whom, rather than to the old soldiers, is due the agitation for a larger distribution of pensions. Yet, I know that the pension attorneys anticipate your election to the Speakership with enthusiasm; believing that once again the doors of the Federal Treasury will be opened for their personal benefit. I trust that they are counting in vain upon your sentimental support. Your life-long sympathy for the old soldier does not need the emphasis of a fresh raid upon the national funds.

And what is true regarding pensions, applies with equal force to all manner of appropriations. The period following a war is always characterized by extravagance. The conflict with Spain, brief though it was, will prove no exception to the rule. The assaults upon the National Treasury, during the three months of the last session of Congress, came

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from every quarter, and were made with a persistency undaunted by rebuff. When Congress again assembles, we may look for a flood of measures planned, primarily, with the object of appropriating the money of the people. A well-filled treasury will invite plunder. The reaction from the anxious years, when financial stringency and low revenues made economy necessary, has already commenced ; and on its rising tide the next Speaker of the House might be easily swept away. You will do wisely if you retain Representative Cannon, of Illinois, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Mr. Cannon may, once in a while, secure a plump appropriation for his own district ; but he is, nevertheless, a safe and fair distributer of the public funds. He has the stamina to withstand pressure, and yet he does not go to the Holman-like extreme of practising economy at the expense of the real necessities of the Government. The country will approve of his continuance as the principal custodian of the public purse.

But there are many projects that will not come under Mr. Cannon's jurisdiction. These will require your close, personal scrutiny and, possibly, your firm disapproval. Once again your natural inclination to be obliging will be severely strained. Lobbyists will swarm around the Capitol. Some of them are expert in the gentle art of giving dinners. They will come forward with innumerable claims upon the Government and with all manner of questionable schemes. You must frown where you have hitherto smiled ; otherwise there will be scandal and robbery under the guise of law.

Propositions for enormous subsidies will be presented, indorsed by eminent leaders in your own party. Around the public crib will hover a hungry horde, who, for four long years, have been kept at a safe distance by the strong arm of Thomas B. Reed. It will need all your courage to resist their insidious appeals. You will make enemies of men who are now loudly proclaiming themselves your friends, and to whom you have hitherto shown much favor. I need not remind you that the promoters of the Nicaragua and Panama Canal schemes will court your favor, or that the agents of the Pacific railroads will seek your influence to prevent the competition of Isthmian transportation. Other great interests and corporations will beset your pathway with genial tempters. Members of the House, no longer having the fear of Mr. Reed before their eyes, and anxious to fatten after long privation, will press upon you. There will be Scylla on one side and Charybdis on the other. It will require almost superhuman skill to steer in the safe channel of public approbation ; but knowing you as

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I do, I am certain that the needle of your own unblemished integrity will ever point you in the right direction.

It might be argued that the narrow Republican majority in the House is for you an unfortunate circumstance; but, on the other hand, I am inclined to believe that this very peril of divided ranks will impress upon your colleagues the importance of harmony. The Republican party is certainly a compact organization, and you undoubtedly have the respect of all your fellow-members. Viewing the situation in its most favorable light, however, it is still evident that, in order to prevent any outward sign of inward disagreement, you will be called upon to exercise an unusual amount of tact.

There are dangerous bridges to cross. One of these is the proposed financial legislation. It is already the intention of certain leaders to introduce a bill which shall definitely declare the existence of the gold standard. I believe that this is the honest and proper step, from a political point of view; for the United States is now virtually upon this single standard; and a legislative enactment to that effect would also be in accord with the teachings and principles of your party. You are familiar with the fact, however, that there are many Republican members of the House who are still honest believers in bimetallism, and who sincerely doubt the wisdom of, or the necessity for, the bold, straightforward action which is contemplated. It will be your duty to reconcile these differing opinions, and thus prevent, when the question comes to a vote, the spectacle of a disrupted party. Your predecessor avoided the issue by appointing a Banking and Currency Committee composed of such discordant elements that, either first or last, agreement was impossible. His excuse was, that financial-reform legislation was not necessary. To follow in his footsteps would be cowardly—a trait which is entirely foreign to your nature. Besides, conditions have changed.

There must be some financial legislation. The pledges of reform in this particular, made by the President both before and after election, by which he secured the suffrage of all believers in sound currency, have not been redeemed, although only eighteen months of his Administration remain. There must be no further evasion of this question, even if its consideration be fraught with some political danger. If you can marshal the Republican membership of the House to the adoption of a bill fastening the single gold standard upon this country and giving increased powers and privileges to the national banks, you will reach a crowning point of your long and honorable career. Only

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one event of recent years will compare with such a victory. I refer, of course, to the time when Speaker Crisp compelled the Democrats in the House to accept, without amendment, the Senate Tariff Bill, in Mr. Cleveland's second Administration. The task before you is an imposing one, worthy of your acknowledged abilities. If you succeed, great will be your glory ; and you cannot afford to falter.

Furthermore, the Democrats will, undoubtedly, endeavor to entangle you in the meshes of anti-trust legislation, in the hope of making party capital for the approaching campaign ; while their opposition to the new colonial policy will be equally marked. It would seem, however, as if all enactments relating to the trusts might well be ignored in the next session of Congress, not only because such laws ought to be carefully considered and framed, but also because the question of the restriction of corporations will come before the people next fall for decision. In addition to this, the control of trusts is very largely a matter of State legislation, so that, as the situation now stands, the country will not condemn you if this subject is ignored next winter. As for the policy of expansion, it is reasonable to suppose that the President, in his message to Congress, will outline some definite programme for his party.

In the formation of the committees you are happily free from embarrassments. The contest out of which you emerged so triumphantly was too brief to engender bitterness ; and while you will naturally remember your friends, you have no pronounced enemies upon whom to wreak revenge. The petty spite which some of your predecessors have displayed in this direction will be conspicuously absent. The committees ought to be, and I believe will be, admirably, intelligently, and impartially constituted. They will be expected to work quickly and harmoniously.

To the prompt disposition of the non-political measures which the committees will bring before the House, the Democrats will not, I judge, offer any factious obstacles. You are in excellent favor with your political opponents, who know that while you are a partisan you are neither mean nor resentful. Even your fervid assaults upon the South and the Democratic party are without sting. The Democratic leaders upon the floor will very properly seek to gain every political advantage which opportunity may offer ; but they will not, I am certain, deliberately harass you. They know you to be frank and fair to friend and foe alike ; and they will meet you half-way, in the spirit of mutual, personal regard.

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Let me now add but one word. It is hardly necessary, but it ought not to be omitted. Do not antagonize the Administration. You know that the pathway of national politics is strewn with the corpses of men who have attempted the fatal task of opposing a President of the United States. I would not, however, appeal to you from this low point of view. On the contrary, the President has the right to ask and to expect, at this juncture, the support of all party leaders. Especially should the next Speaker of the House be in cordial sympathy with him; for the fortunes of the next national campaign will rest almost entirely upon the President and the Speaker. Knowing you as I do, I need not elaborate upon this point. President McKinley will not have in the next Congress a more loyal, earnest, and sincere supporter than David B. Henderson, of Iowa.

A FRIEND OF GEN. HENDERSON.



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# THE TEACHER AND HIS DUTIES.

BEFORE the division of labor caused the life of man to assume a differentiated character, the functions which now are singly assigned to different individuals were more or less collectively performed by all. In patriarchal society every head of a family was his own provider, and what are now diverse trades were pursued as the common tasks of daily life. During the pioneer period of our own country similar conditions prevailed. The stately matron of bygone times wove and finished with her own hand the linen and cloth from which she would make the garments of the household ; while the worthy husbandman was his own blacksmith, shoemaker, carpenter, and what not. Of course, at times, like Robinson in the story, they had recourse to the vast stores and manufactures of their European homes ; importations from the mother-country having made feasible their pioneer life in the wilderness. The primitive family, however, had no such aids to progress. It had to exist upon its own resources exclusively ; and the knowledge and skill requisite for the development of the various arts which signalled the dawn of civilization were handed down from father to son and from mother to daughter. The parents were the natural teachers of the young, the centres from which moral influence radiated, and the guardians of the tribe's religion and honor.

In the more advanced society of a later period we find that the family organization is still modelled after essentially the same plan ; but the wisdom and higher knowledge of the tribe and incipient nation have become concentrated in a separate class or caste—that of the priesthood. The priests are now the spiritual guardians of the people. Their special function is to commune with the gods and to mediate between them and the nation. From this divine intercourse, entirely devoted to searching into the mysteries of nature and of human life, they acquire a knowledge which, to the uninitiated, appears truly magical and supernatural. They are not only priests, but philosophers, poets, scientists, physicians, and teachers. All the learned professions, as known to us, were represented in their rudimentary, undifferentiated form by this caste, who endowed all knowledge with

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a spiritual significance, as coming from the gods whose agents they were. All knowledge was accepted as a divine revelation. Even the crafts, such as the art of husbandry, of metal-working, and so on, were ascribed to the teachings of gods, who had come down among men as helpers and instructors. Teaching was then a sacred profession, essentially concerned in spiritual matters.

But "times change and we change with them." When the old order of things gave way to new institutions, when Greece and Rome became masters of the world, and in their turn were dethroned by the ascendancy of the Teutonic tribes, science, religion, and philosophy became more and more accessible to the masses, who had theretofore been kept in subjection and ignorance. Teaching was now a secular profession. But the struggle between the guardians of religion and the promoters of secular ideas was long and fierce, and is not yet fought to the end. Church and State are still at war over the question as to whom the control of popular education properly belongs.

The secular view that, at least so far as school-training is concerned, education means merely the transmission of information, the training of the intellect, a drill in useful occupations, and that, consequently, it is a matter entirely separate from ethico-religious considerations, is certainly a very shallow conception. Knowledge and skill in themselves are neutral possessions. They may work good or evil, depending upon the character of the one who possesses them. Whether your boy will grow up to be a prophet or a profligate will depend not upon what he knows, but upon his spiritual nature, which will convert his knowledge either into a weapon of destruction or into a means of inspiration. A thorough intellectual training will certainly broaden a man's mind and make him capable of appreciating the relations which exist in human life and in the life of nature. It will help him to discriminate better between right and wrong and to choose more wisely in perplexing situations. His actions, however, in every case, will be determined by his moral character.

Indeed, teaching is essentially a spiritual thing. Its value will depend upon the educator's power so to impart information that it shall strengthen the will, touch the heart, and ennoble the aspirations of his pupil. If education has any reference at all to the building up of character, it must have an ethico-religious background. In fact, ethics and religion are the fountainheads. From these the true teacher will draw his strength, and toward them the inspired student must turn for invigoration and revelation.

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When the conditions of the religious life were simple and elementary ; *i.e.*, when the national life expressed itself spiritually in a national religion, the case was free from complexity. Education was then permeated by ideas and ideals which all held practically in common. Nowadays, there is a perplexing difficulty. The form in which the religious idea manifests itself is no longer a simple and constant element. Out of universal, elementary uniformity there has emerged a differentiated organism of which the diverse parts live their individual lives. It has become a matter of common justice to respect the freedom of the individual, notably in matters of conscience, and to recognize that each is a unit by himself, endowed with characteristic forces which distinguish him from all others, and which will lead him to picture the world in his own peculiar way. Thus, what was once a national church has been split up into a large number of sects and sub-sects.

Religious notions shade off, on the one hand, into creeds—which were originally foreign elements, and, on the other hand, into abstractions of a more or less philosophic character. Unfortunately, mistaken fervor, which fails to recognize that these various groups strive for the same goal—only in different ways and under different symbols—has produced a mutual mistrust and enmity between them, as a result of which education has very much suffered. Even in purely secular matters we are apt to be impressed much more by the manner of a thing than by its meaning or essence. A pleasant lie offends us less than impetuous frankness ; and it is only too true that religious fervor is prone to lead to intolerance and fanaticism. Thus, freethinkers accuse orthodox believers of ignorance ; while believers denounce, as necessarily wicked and immoral, all who do not profess a personal God. Jews and Christians, Catholics and Protestants, Baptists and Methodists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians are constantly branding each other as transgressors and gentiles.

This very struggle, between the different religious bodies, has led to a still greater secularization of public instruction than when there was merely a quarrel between the Church and the State. For to whom can the spiritual guidance of our children be intrusted, if there be so much uncertainty as to what is true religion? By reason of the controversy the public schools, in many instances, have declined all responsibility for the ethico-religious training of their pupils ; confining themselves to secular instruction, pure and simple. On the other hand, numerous sectarian schools have sprung up, all supplying an education which, indeed, contains the ethico-religious element, but which, by its

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pronouncedly dogmatic and separatistic character, only tends to widen the gulf that unhappily exists between different portions of the nation.

The secularization of instruction has, among other things, exerted a deplorable influence upon the nature of the teaching talent. When education was a matter of spiritual concern, the teaching was undertaken with a seriousness of purpose, and the teachers were unusually well equipped with knowledge. Teaching was then a life-calling. Nor should we imagine that the priest-teacher of those days was not professionally fit for his work. There was perhaps little, if any, strictly professional training in those ecclesiastical times. But teaching was then, as now, an art ; and the lack of training was largely substituted by empiric knowledge of child-nature, by intuitive insight, and by the recognition of an ethical aim. At an early period, those among the priests who showed eminent fitness for the office of teacher were selected for this special function ; and, indeed, even though the caste appeared as a unit before the multitude, ability and preference soon resulted in a division of tasks among its members. Measuring the quality of the teaching done, under these conditions, by the standard of the times, it was certainly of a very high order. Unfortunately, however, it was of an exclusive character, reserved for a favored few.

When teaching became the business of secular persons who taught for remuneration, the spirit of the work degenerated at once. Naturally, from Quintilian's time down to our own, there have been very many inspired secular teachers whose influence has been ennobling and far-reaching. But the general trend of secular education became utilitarian ; and the teachers were recruited from all walks of life, mostly the lowliest. Secular education had a democratic tendency. It embraced wide circles and gradually developed into the idea of popular education. This new ideal was grand and momentous; but it increased the demand for teachers at such a rate that the supply was often insufficient. These were the days when any one not fit for anything in particular, was still thought competent to be a schoolmaster ; provided he could wield the rod with satisfactory energy. In higher instruction alone, students of divinity long held their own ; being employed in colleges and high schools, and as private tutors in wealthy families. But, on the whole, the profession, if such it can be called, was in a degraded state. Teachers had no social standing at all. Indeed, in compensation and respect, they often ranked lower than ordinary servants. Teaching was "low business," even in the early days of our own glorious republic.

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These conditions are not altogether a thing of the past. Even nowadays it is not uncommon for a man to try his hand at teaching after he has failed in everything else; and the scholarship and professional training of teachers are not generally high. Many people still entertain the idea that to know a subject is a guarantee of the ability to teach it. Nor is it easy to demonstrate the fallacy of this notion to those who are ignorant of the laws that govern the workings of the human mind. Teaching has become a profession with a very few only. The teachers found employed in many of our schools are either young men, who use the position in a public school as a stepping-stone to "something better," or young girls, who desire to fill the interval between their school-days and married life, with some sort of respectable occupation.

The case of these young girls is not by any means the worst feature of the general situation; for they themselves gain in this way an experience which may stand them in good stead when they have children of their own. It has become a growing conviction, among progressive educators, that Froebel was right when he suggested that every young woman should be given a chance to study and handle children as a preparation for motherhood. The only difficulty is, that most of our young teachers enter upon their work without real preparation for it; and not understanding the nature of the task they have little love for it. With them it is a daily mechanism, the veriest routine; and there is the danger that they will carry the superficial notion of child-life and education, which governs their work in school, into their maternal functions. And their social standing, if judged by what their services are worth to the school-boards in dollars and cents, is still very mediocre. Few receive a salary that makes them free from care, or that can compare with the wages paid to clerks, cooks, and others, whose responsibilities are vastly inferior.

However, if we survey the whole field of public instruction, we may congratulate ourselves upon the great changes that have taken place during the present century. Since the days of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, a higher conception of the office of the teacher has been gradually evolved. Both these men recognized the need of a better understanding of the child-soul before being able to minister to its wants. It was the dawn of child-psychology that was destined to revolutionize education. Herbart and Froebel were apostles of this new gospel; and whatever is good in modern development may be found in the suggestions of these two great teachers, erroneous as were some of

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their philosophical premises. Suddenly, the child became the centre of interest, and teaching assumed a new significance. The great movement of child-study has stirred up the minds of educators, especially in our own country and in Germany, and has resulted in the beginning of a new pedagogy—a pedagogy which is both a science and an art.

This movement has served to spiritualize the work—so long under the bane of a one-sided secularism. The teacher, from the new point of view, is not merely a lesson-giver—a mechanical contrivance for imparting information. He is not the arch-enemy of all the natural impulses and instincts of the child, but his friend and counsellor, his spiritual helper and, perchance, his assistant physician. In a word, the child's teacher is his educator. Child-psychology has brought to light, with scientific accuracy, that it is idle to undertake to develop the intellect without influencing the moral faculties ; that intellectual training of the wholesome kind is identical with will-training ; and that whatever we may do with the child will be somehow reflected in his moral and religious character. All the forces that make up the child's environment are of educational import, and will influence his bent in later life. As all education is, in its very essence, spiritual, secular education, as it has been understood, is an illusion, an impossibility. Where the spiritual element is neglected, education will be a dismal failure. It will not be simply negative in its effect, but will tend to corrupt, or at least confuse, the moral character of the child.

Thus, the profession of teaching assumes a new dignity. As of old, the teacher is again recognized as a spiritual power, coming next to the parent in direct and telling influence upon the future character of the child. Inasmuch as the young soul is given into his keeping he has an almost priestly function. And since it has been demonstrated that psychological development is intimately related to physiological conditions, he will have to assume, at certain junctures, some of the duties which are ordinarily assigned to the physician. He will, therefore, represent a combination which, in a measure, will revive the ancient order of things. His broad functions will compel him to be in close touch with the ethical and religious life of the community, so that he may develop and refine his own spiritual character; with the medical profession, whose assistance he will need daily in solving the problems arising from the needs of individual children ; and with the progress of science in general, with which he is obliged to bring the young minds in touch. As a result, he will be instrumental in bringing about a new brotherhood, a community of spiritual interests, which, however, will

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differ from the ancient caste-organization of patriarchal times mainly in so far as it will be based upon the spirit of progress, mutual tolerance, and helpfulness. This new dignity entails a new responsibility—a responsibility so vast, indeed, that none of us will ever be able to attain the ideal.

Not every scholar is necessarily a teacher, but every teacher must be a scholar. By the latter I mean that he must possess the scientific spirit—that spirit which is concerned not alone in the accumulation of a vast number of facts, but also, and mainly, in the intelligent use of those which are at hand. He must, on his own account, aspire to knowledge such as will expand his own personality and widen the horizon of his interests, in order that he may be able to personate, to his pupils, if only in a modest way, the incorruptible dignity and the salutary influences of true science. If the teacher's interests be confined to the four walls of his schoolroom, he runs the risk of becoming narrow and self-complacent, petty and nagging. He must be conversant with the great problems of his age, so that he may keep steadily before him the great aim of all educational effort; viz., to fit the children to carry the banner of civilization to still loftier heights.

The true teacher will cherish high motives, so that he may awaken high motives in the young. Too much is our present life given to emulation. It is not excellence we strive after, but the ability to excel, to outstrip, others. Our age is one of merciless competition; and our ordinary school practice, by a seductive system of marks, reports, and prizes, arouses and stimulates this unhappy tendency in our young children. Here is the teacher's opportunity. If his motives be high; if he be not swayed by sordid considerations, petty jealousies, and emulative ambitions; if he have the unselfish heart; then will he inspire his pupils with the force of his noble example. In the schoolroom the teacher must be cheerful and sympathetic; he must possess a readiness to appreciate the *pupil's* side of the problem and to forget his own; he must be interested in the individual needs of each child; and his attitude toward the parents must be tactful.

Furthermore, the conscientious teacher will endeavor to bring about an intelligent coöperation of school and home. He will, everywhere and under all circumstances, stand up publicly for the cause of a rational education. In the rural districts, where the school problem is particularly perplexing, he will be a true missionary. In the city, he will be interested in the cleanliness and decency of streets, cars, etc.; he will propagate the idea of public playgrounds; he will be an ardent

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auxiliary to the social reformer in the cause of uplifting the conditions of the poor. In brief, he will participate in all endeavors to elevate the moral tone of the community.

Great problems now struggle for solution, and, as a result of this struggle, it is to be hoped that the generations of the twentieth century will have a purer religion and a more perfect government. What the actual outcome will be can be only dimly divined at the present day. But as those who are now children will take an active part in the future, we teachers can contribute our share toward making it better and happier, by giving the young a clearer vision as to their duties and responsibilities. Reform is not so much a matter of law and government as the outcome of a spiritual regeneration.

It is through the educational idea, through the conception of human progress as an educational process, that a new unification of spiritual efforts can be effected. The physician, the priest, the scientist, the philosopher—all the professions—are educative forces; and education is the new focus in which these various activities centre. Thus, a new brotherhood of spiritual potencies is forming along lines of greater freedom and more vigorous growth. There is no longer a community of creed. Individually, we may conceive of the powers that govern the universe and make for righteousness in very different ways, and call them by different names. But let there be a community of spirit, an honest seeking after truth. Let there be a unity of effort, of deed, if not of creed. Let us all recognize the dignity and responsibility of the teacher's profession, and unite our forces in the service of humanity.

MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN.

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# INDIAN FAMINES.

A KNOWLEDGE of the causes of Indian famines in the past, as well as of the most effective methods of preventing their recurrence or of mitigating their terrible consequences, has undoubtedly enabled the Government of India in the years 1896–98 to grapple most successfully with one of the most terrible visitations of this kind that has ever overtaken the people of India.

Under former native governments, and even under the enlightened rule of an Akbar, famines—like the plague, or some other deadly epidemic—were regarded as beyond the power of man to contend against. Indeed, a native official, accustomed to a native system of government, said, in regard to the famine of 1770: "There can be no remedy but in the mercy of God." People were left to die by the thousands. And, being fatalists themselves, believing that no human efforts could prevail against the anger of the gods, the people submitted patiently to their fate.

There was no statistical department in those days to investigate and record the awful details. There was no painstaking analyst to collect information from private sources as to the misery which each succeeding famine inflicted. The stories of natives, and casual references in native chronicle, are our only sources of information concerning famines prior to the year 1770—the first great Indian famine of which we have any authentic record. In that year, owing to the sudden failure of the periodic rains, "the fields of rice became like fields of dried straw," and the distress, which had been threatening since the autumn of the previous year, reached its climax. It is said that 3,000,000 people perished in Behar and the districts north of the Ganges. The stock of seed-grain was eagerly devoured; and when this was exhausted the leaves of the trees, the grass of the fields, and, finally, the dead supplied sustenance for the living. Mangled and festering corpses filled the streets and highways, and cries of despair and agonizing moans were heard on every side.

"Dire scenes of horror, which no pen can trace,
Nor rolling years from memory's page efface"

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are the graphic lines with which a famous Indian administrator—John Shore—sums up the terrible calamity to which he had been a sympathetic witness, and which, according to official accounts, resulted in the death of more than a third of the population.

Eleven years later another period of scarcity began, and lasted two years. It was felt with considerable severity in the Madras settlement and in The Carnatic. It was in connection with this local famine that an institution resembling the Poor Law of England, called the Monegar Choultry, was established, by means of private subscriptions. Eleven years after, we hear of another famine appearing in Baroda and the adjoining districts, as well as in the northern districts of the Madras Presidency; reaching Kach, in the Bombay Presidency, a year later. It was in connection with the Madras famine (1790–91) that the British Government, represented by the East India Company, seems to have begun to realize its responsibility; adopting, for the first time, the expedient of employing the distressed poor on public works.

The recurrence of famines in Southern India, at intervals of about eleven years, suggested the ingenious theory that this periodicity accorded with the period of sun-spot variation; but closer observation of facts does not apparently warrant any more definite conclusion than that severe famines seem to occur about the time of minimum sun-spots in Southern India, and that of maximum sun-spots in Northern India. One of the severest famines in the Northwestern Provinces—including Delhi, Meerut, and other districts—prior to 1870, occurred in 1837, a year of maximum sun-spots. In connection with the influence of the variations of the sun-spots upon rainfall and other climatic conditions, as well as on the periodicity of famines, the investigations of Mr. Danvers are of much value. His interesting report, published in 1878, says: "Famines in India have arisen from several different causes, *but the most general cause has not been failure of the usual rains.*" Storms and floods, swarms of rats and locusts, and the immigration of the starving people from distant distressed parts into districts otherwise well provided with food-supplies are some of the causes which Mr. Danvers enumerates.

The Bengal famine of 1874 occurred after a deficient rainfall and an abnormally hot monsoon, followed by frost and west winds, which dried up the crops. On the other hand, the immediate cause of the famines of 1877 and 1896–98 was the general failure of the wet monsoon or autumn rains. A population whose subsistence depends on

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cereal crops must necessarily be, to some extent, dependent upon climatic conditions.

It will be of interest, in this place, to mention two important facts. First, the average production of food-crops is substantially in excess of the demands of the population. In 1880 the Famine Commissioners estimated the normal surplus to be 9,500,000 tons. Such a surplus would furnish ample means of meeting the demands of a famine as severe as any hitherto experienced. The Famine Commissioners appointed in 1897, and who have recently submitted their report, believe, however, that this estimate was in excess of the reality. The second point is, that famines in India are peculiar in so far as only certain districts are visited at any one period. If efforts are made to control famines, the two facts just mentioned, together with the fact that the area of land under artificial irrigation has been of late years increased, supply the true ground for hope that, terrible as these visitations have been in the past, it will be possible to cope with them with a larger measure of success in the future.

Theoretically, the solution of the problem would lie in sending the grain from the districts where the supply is abundant to those which are famine-stricken. Practically, however, by reason of the lack of transportation facilities, this is not a simple matter. As the Government is wisely paving the way for increased communication by land and water, this difficulty will gradually diminish. But it is necessary to bear in mind, that the very facilities afforded by extended railway and canal transportation for carrying grain to tracts liable to famine in years of drought will, in themselves, furnish a fresh danger by offering greater facilities for export to more remunerative markets ; thus preventing large accumulations of grain in certain tracts in years of plenty. Sir James Lyall and his colleagues have done well to lay particular stress upon this point ; for it shows that, however hopeful the outlook for dealing with future famines may be, the Government must reckon on frequent, small, local famines as well as on the occasional recurrence of widespread droughts.

To meet with success, when such emergencies arise, it is absolutely necessary that the Government should be in possession of ample funds. For this reason Famine Commissioners very properly recommend the maintenance of the Famine Insurance Grant, instituted in 1881–82, whose purpose is to secure a surplus revenue in normal years, in order to meet the extraordinary charges thrown upon the state in times of famine. This grant was to be constituted by the annual appropria-

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tion of one and a half crores of rupees. But, owing to financial exigencies, and partly also because of the belief that the requirements had been overestimated, the original scheme was not fully carried out. The Famine Commissioners now recommend—and the Government will probably act upon this recommendation—that the budget estimates should be so formed as to include a full grant of one and a half crores of rupees for famine relief and insurance, with the proviso that the grant be contracted in unfavorable years, but that the deficit shall be made good by an addition to the grants when the conditions are favorable.

Let us now consider briefly what has been done in the way of systematizing the distribution of relief to the distressed in famine-inflicted districts.

It was said by Diderot, that England was "the country of philosophers, systematizers, and men of inquiring minds." But nowhere more than in India, and in no connection more prominently than in dealing with the dreadful calamity of famine, have Englishmen shown themselves more skilled as systematizers, or more painstaking and conscientious as inquirers. They have reduced to order and method a gigantic organization for the distribution of relief, in periods of scarcity, which has no parallel in the history of any other nation; and they have labored with a devotion and earnestness, in the acquisition of information calculated to guide their efforts, which cannot be too highly praised.

The year 1897 was memorable for the Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the aged and much-revered Queen and Empress. But it was, alas! also memorable—and let us hope that it may ever remain unique in this respect—for the unprecedented calamities which befel our Indian Empire. The whole liturgical combination of evils—plague, pestilence, famine, war, and earthquakes—seems to have overtaken the Executive at one stroke. An untried man was at the helm; and the bark which carried British fortunes in the East never needed more skilful guidance. But the untried man had a cool head and the dauntless courage of his race; and his bark was manned by a crew which had been trained in a school where self-reliance, perseverance, and courage are taught as the principal virtues. There was no shirking of responsibility, no wavering in counsel, no cry of *non possumus*. From the highest to the lowest official in the land, the animating spirit appears to have been that which Her Majesty had herself but lately expressed so touchingly in her letter to her people—"to discharge their duty for the welfare of the people."

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A bold front was presented ; each menacing danger was grappled with independently ; each was subdued and conquered in turn ; and by the end of the year the darkening clouds had largely dispersed, peace was restored, the plague had almost disappeared, and a famine, which had affected an area of 225,000 square miles and a population of 62,000,000, had been combated at a cost of 20,000,000 rupees. Some idea of the Herculean labor involved in coping with a famine extending over so large an area, in the midst of other troubles, may be formed when we consider that, counting each person relieved for one day as a unit, no less than 821,000,000 units, or about two and a quarter million persons a day, for a whole year, are estimated to have received relief.

The success with which the humanitarian work was attended may be illustrated by comparing the death-rate during the recent famine with that of 1876–78. Although the area and population affected in the earlier famine were somewhat smaller than in the recent one, the death-roll was very much greater. According to a calculation made by Sir Charles Elliott, the deaths during the recent famine, in the three provinces most intensely affected—the Northwestern Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bombay—were about 800,000 above the normal ; but this total includes those who perished from cholera, small-pox, and the secondary effects of underfeeding and privations of all kinds consequent upon the great rise in the prices of all varieties of breadstuffs. The total losses in the famine of 1876–78 were about 5,000,000. The comparison proves that the Government of India has every reason to be satisfied with the results of its efforts ; although it is doubtless true, as the first Famine Commission pointed out, that no human endeavors will altogether prevent an increase of mortality during a severe famine. The generous donors, also, in the various parts of the Empire, whose liberality added Rx. 2,000,000 to the available resources in the recent famine, will find in the above figures the keenest gratification in having contributed a share toward such an enormous saving of life.

The principles by which the Government was guided in dealing with the recent famine owe their origin to a provincial attempt made, in 1883, by the Government of India, to consolidate the prescriptions which the experiences of previous famines, and especially those of 1877, had suggested as expedient. Local governments were then asked to frame draft codes, based on the general lines of those formulated by the Government of India, but with such differences in matters of detail as the varying conditions of the different provinces rendered advisable. These draft codes—which, after careful revision by the Govern-

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ment of India, were eventually sanctioned—follow, with one or two exceptions, a uniform system of division into chapters, generally fifteen in number. The first chapter prescribes preparatory or precautionary arrangements to be permanently maintained in ordinary times. The main objects of these prescriptions are ; (1) to insure the maintenance of efficient channels of information, so that the approach of scarcity or famine may be detected in good time ; and, (2) to provide for a state of preparedness, in respect to measures of relief, when the emergency arises. The second chapter relates to the special reports to be submitted, and the preliminary actions to be taken, when the information received indicates the imminence of scarcity or of famine. The remaining chapters prescribe the duties of all officers concerned when scarcity or famine is actually present, as well as the various measures of relief to be taken.

These principles, which are liberal in their scope and eminently practical, fully emphasize the responsibility of Government. Nor has the experience of the famine of 1896–98 suggested any material changes or additions. But, naturally, the application of these principles is attended with serious difficulties. For example, it is an open question whether or not the authorities of the Northwestern Provinces were justified in increasing the severity of the task, for the prescribed wage, of those occupied on the relief-works, in order to induce the agricultural laborers to leave these works and return to their regular fields of occupation, when in March, 1897, the spring harvests were ripe. On the one hand, there was the danger that these laborers would become so accustomed to a system of state relief that they would grow disinclined to seek employment in field-work, and thus withhold labor requisite for the cultivation of the soil. On the other hand, the Famine Commissioners, aware of the necessity of checking any "unreasonable disinclination" to leave relief-works, are inclined to believe that, by increasing tasks and stiffening rates, *except in cases of lax or extravagant management*, the tendency will be to reduce unduly the number of weakly laborers and dependents. The "modified intermediate system," enjoined by the Famine Codes, introduces a low-wage basis, without allowances to dependents ; involving a Sunday rest without a Sunday wage, in the case of districts where no actual distress is felt. The Famine Commissioners express an apparently well-founded fear that, however effective and economical this system may be, it fails to afford an adequate amount of relief to dependents and to the inefficient labor class. The provincial authorities contend, however, that the

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system had proved adequate in those localities where the distress was not acute.

In the hill and jungle regions the distribution of relief is a task of immense difficulty. Here the Famine Commissioners believe that reliance should not be placed on the notion that those who want help will ask for it, and endure some discomfort to get it. It is here in particular that the system of gratuitous relief at the homes of those who are incapable of work is brought into operation. Generally speaking, the methods of dealing with cases of a special character must be left to the discretion of the local officials. No set of rules can be expected to cover all cases. Certain classes of the community, such as skilled artisans, may require some special relief; and the Famine Commissioners have certain recommendations applying to them. Definite rules exist also concerning the methods by which private charity organizations may assist the Government in supplying relief.

In the matter of prevention, even greater forethought and activity have been shown than in that of relief. Among the means that may be adopted to protect India against famine from drought, irrigation works are unquestionably the most important. The true value of these works is not represented alone by the financial return for the capital invested. The saving of life during periods of drought, and other matters, must also be taken into consideration. That the Government of India has been thoroughly mindful of the advantages of irrigation is proved alone by the fact that, since 1879, the annual expenditure of capital on the so-called "productive-irrigation works" has averaged 540,000 rupees; and, in addition to this, during the same period, Rx. 2,099,253 has been spent on the construction of "protective-irrigation works," and an average of Rx. 486,718 per annum on "minor-irrigation works." These measures, incidentally, will prove of great value in developing the resources of the country. But great results were to be anticipated under such an enlightened policy as that of Lord Elgin's, who, however, would be the last to claim that these happy results are due entirely to his own administration.

Though a retrospect of Indian famines presents a sad picture, it is not likely that such horrors as those of the past will be witnessed in the future. A review of the past brings to light the many mistakes which were made in the early days of our Government; but it shows, on the whole, that the Anglo-Saxon race has the capacity for colonial administration and is skilled in the science of government.

W. H. RATTIGAN.

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# THE PROBLEM OF AN AMERICAN MARINE.

WHEREVER he may go, whether to Europe or to other parts of the globe, an observant American cannot fail to notice the absence of his country's shipping. Familiar with its presence in the ports of his own land, he wonders why it is that he cannot see it abroad; and he begins to suspect that conditions are favorable at home, but adverse elsewhere. He may not be aware of the exact situation. He knows, however, that circumstances must have been different in times past; for history has told him of bygone exploits in navigation, and of the *prestige* once acquired by American shipping the world over. It has told him, too, that when the War of the Revolution ended, the American flag scarcely floated either at sea or in foreign ports, and that this state of things continued until after the Union and the Constitution had brought in the present Federal Government.

The problem of an American marine was one of the first presented in Congress—by the statesmen of 1789—for solution. Being rightly undertaken, their task was light, and soon accomplished. In six years, the proportion of our carriage in foreign trade rose from less than 25 to 90 per cent. Our ships were built at home under a system of protection, and were owned by our citizens. In their running, also, they were protected. A merchant marine, to be created in the face of rivalry and sharp antagonism, has no other means of coming into existence, or of continuing as a permanent factor. Therefore, necessarily and undeniably, American navigation was the "Child of Protection."

How was this protection given? By discriminative revenue acts, and by a registry provision that American vessels must be American-built; *i.e.*, by trade and tariff regulations. What changes have since taken place? In 1815 our Government began to withdraw the protection to transportation in the foreign trade and continued this policy until none was left. The policy entered upon was called "maritime reciprocity;" and, as a result of it, our proportionate carrying in our foreign commerce has decreased from 90 per cent, as it had stood for thirty years, to less than 9 per cent, the present ratio. While a few nations have advanced under this policy, most have lost ground; our



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own experience being perhaps the most unfortunate. Luckily, it has never been extended to the shipping in our domestic trade—the coasting, lake, and river service. This is why we continue to possess some navigation under the flag of the Union. Our ship-building is still protected. Only shipping in foreign commerce, and the business which accompanies a flag in the carrying-trade, have been bestowed upon our rivals. Our thoughtful citizens, for thirty years past, have been saying that Congress should retrace its steps. Even the school-children are now expressing the view, that the mistake of our Government, in exposing our marine to ruin, must be remedied immediately.

What shall be done in the matter? The question is one of statesmanship. Viewed aright it is simple enough. The principle of our early ship protection was stated by Mr. Madison to be this: "The making of a *preference* for our own vessels in our own commerce." It was the natural thing to do. On no other principle could the fathers have succeeded; on no other can we succeed to-day; on no other did any nation ever succeed in building up and continuing a just degree of shipping power.

In changing from our early policy, we made "conventions" with other nations to reciprocate their action in doing away with "legislative protection" of shipping. If they did not protect by law, we would not. By some it was thought a cunning thing to do—that other nations, not ourselves, would get the worst of the policy. We know better now, but dislike to acknowledge our defeat. It was not *our* policy, however, but the proposition of an antagonist claiming the mastery of commerce and navigation. Needless to say, the dice were loaded. The convention proposed, and agreed to, in 1815, has not been honestly observed. Besides, legislative protection was only a part of the advantage enjoyed by our great rival, while it constituted nearly all of ours. Such conventions are against human nature. Want of watch-dogs brought the wolves. Subterfuges were invented, and new agencies were put at work, to hinder our shipping growth and obstruct our commercial development. Congress did nothing, for the Government was committed to a course of inaction. To this day it has scarcely entertained the idea of reversing its deadly policy; although nothing is required beyond giving a year's notice of the wish to discontinue any one of our maritime reciprocity conventions. Not one of these was ever of any use to us.

In opposition to this course, more lethargy seems to rule at home than abroad. Abroad we are advised that the spirit of the age is lib-

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erality ; that the way to promote ship-building is to buy our vessels from foreign countries ; that the way to enlarge our marine is to import tonnage and encourage foreign ownership. That "open doors" and "free ships" would be of any national advantage no sound reasoning can show. It was opening the sheepfold that let in the wolf. The cheap ship is merely an economic delusion. The best ships, being durable, are really the cheapest ; and the best can be supplied at home, provided the industry be properly protected. But at home we meet with inertness and procrastination, temporizing and conservativeness. Of late the disposition has been to degrade the solving of a vital public problem to the working out of measures to secure private fortunes. It is needless to say that the representatives of foreign powers, and of individual foreign interests, feel more than pleased with the situation. These representatives agree with a few of our own people, that, if anything is to be attempted by Congress, the remedy lies in subsidy, bounty, or "compensation"—practically the same thing.

Shipping "subsidy" is British in origin, "bounty" is French, while "compensation" feigns to be American. These distinctions have few differences. They all agree in calling for taxes and in consuming public treasure. Postal subsidies pay for services ; there being some return of money for postage. Bounty and compensation bring no revenue : their office is to spend it. Bounty is well adapted to clearing the frontiers of beasts of prey. When these are destroyed there is an end to the system. Applied to shipping, there is no end, except in calamity and ruin. A fishing bounty or compensation can be paid, because the business is small : it might be discontinued without causing distress. But, with shipping, as we shall see, the circumstances are different. A recent attempt at legislation has raised the question whether governmental expenditure is, indeed, a suitable, expedient, and practicable means of ship-protection. As the measure did not pass, I shall here refer to some of its provisions, examine their claims to public confidence, and illustrate the fact that the authors of the Bill were mistaken as to the case of the American ship ; regarding both condition and remedy. It is only in the application that we can test the principle. Mechanicians know well that what will work on a small scale may not be practicable in a large machine. It is much the same with statesmanship. Let us apply the test of cost.

To calculate the cost of building and maintaining a marine, on the principle of governmental expenditure, as proposed in the so-called "Hanna-Payne Bill," is a somewhat complex problem. And I wish

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at the outset to call the reader's attention to the fact that, since its principle is not that of protection against competition, the extent to which the scheme contains within itself potential elements of success is very uncertain. *It secures no preference.* But, as its friends assume that it will prove highly effective, we must, when we undertake to solve the problem of cost and consequent expediency, consider the measure in the light of its possibilities. Of a certainty, one is not at liberty to assume that a minimum of cost will attend a maximum of success, where every point gained is due to "compensation."

Concerning the scope of the measure, it may be stated that the "compensation" is payable as follows: (1) upon gross tonnage; (2) for "mileage sailed both outward and homeward bound"; (3) to all vessels "engaged in trade" between our own and foreign countries; (4) according to speed—the rate per ton to certain vessels, having ability for speed above fourteen knots, is increased in proportion to fleetness as tested on a trial trip, presumably in ballast trim, to establish the record of each vessel. There is nothing to be deducted or withheld for voyages in ballast, or with partial cargoes (no doubt because then "compensation" would be most needed). The total tonnage upon which "compensation" is payable is, in fact, that of entrances and clearances added together. *It is claimed that the terms are as low as feasible, if success may be hoped for.* Practically, all our foreign-trade shipping would come under the operation of the law. Vessels not taken under its care would have to sail in the coasting trade, be sold to foreigners, or laid up in idleness. If all the tonnage engaged in our foreign trade were American, it would be easy to estimate the annual cost. The fact that even our proportionate carriage may be more or less than any given percentage, makes the estimate a complicated one. Our flag is now carrying but a small proportion of our commerce—say, one-twelfth; and it is expected, of course, that the operation of the law will cause a large increase of business. A measure that would not soon retrieve a proportion of 75 to 80 per cent American would not accomplish the work desired by the country. It will simplify our problem to estimate the sum of "compensation" that would be due upon the whole fleet engaged in foreign trade, and to show, in connection therewith, the percentages of this sum corresponding to the proportion of the tonnage actually American. The tonnage engaged in foreign trade, for years past, is accurately known.

In the last year, 1898, the foreign-trade vessel movement, seaports only, was as follows:

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| | Tons. |
|---|---|
| Total tonnage entered in foreign trade | 21,443,738 |
| Total tonnage cleared in foreign trade | 21,890,781 |
| | 43,334,519 |

The annual increase in vessel movement being irregular, it must be studied by considering the increase for a more or less extended period, and taking the average. If we go back to 1873, a period of twenty-five years, we find that at that time the vessel movement was 16,909,619 tons; so that the average annual increase for a quarter of a century has been 6¼ per cent. Now, let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the same rate of increase will be maintained in the next quarter of a century; although the use of the Nicaragua Canal, which is likely to be built, would tend strongly to increase our trade and to enlarge the ratio named.

The first fiscal year under the Bill was set for 1900. In that year the collective movement of vessels, according to our estimate, will be 48,751,333 tons. Let us say that, for the first year, America's proportion will be 8 per cent. Now, if the virtue of protection really pervades the act, America's percentage will naturally increase from year to year. In the second year, under the law, it will perhaps have reached 12½ per cent; in the third year, 20 per cent; in the fourth, 30 per cent; and so on to 80 per cent in 1908. At this point the culmination might be expected; although contracts with the Treasury could be made during 1909, so that the percentage might possibly rise above 80. Each contract having twenty years to run, all would have expired by 1930, at which time the expenditure would have ceased—unless, in the meantime, the term should have been extended, in consequence of the severe pressure that would have to be expected.

To give form and scope to an approximate estimate of the average annual cost of this measure, and the better to compute it for an extended period, the table on page 86 has been prepared.

I have computed both the expenditure that would be called for if the whole foreign-trade fleet were American, and the actual expenditure based upon certain estimated percentages. An important factor in the calculation is the rate per ton for the average vessel of the fleet upon the average voyage, under the conditions of the Bill. This will depend partly on the length of the average voyage and partly on the fleetness of the vessel. A careful study of the carrying-trade returns will show, that the average voyage in American commerce—not that of American vessels, but of all engaged—may be taken at 3,756 miles,

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## THE HANNA-PAYNE BILL ILLUSTRATED.

APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE OF ANNUAL COST OF "COMPENSATION" TO TONNAGE IN FOREIGN TRADE, UNDER THE TERMS SET FORTH, WITH INCREASING VOLUME ALLOWED FOR BOTH IN COMMERCE AND IN CARRYING.

| Year. | 8 Per cent. | 12½ Per cent. | 20 Per cent. | 30 Per cent. | 40 Per cent. | 50 Per cent. | 60 Per cent. | 70 Per cent. | 80 Per cent. | 90 Per cent. | Entire Fleet. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1900..... | $3,222,268 | $5,034,794 | $8,055,670 | $12,083,505 | $16,111,340 | $20,139,175 | $24,167,010 | $28,194,845 | $32,222,680 | $36,250,515 | $40,278,351 |
| 1901..... | 3,423,659 | 5,349,468 | 8,559,149 | 12,838,724 | 17,118,298 | 21,397,873 | 25,677,448 | 29,957,022 | 34,236,597 | 38,516,172 | 42,795,747 |
| 1902..... | 3,625,051 | 5,664,142 | 9,062,628 | 13,593,942 | 18,125,257 | 22,656,576 | 27,187,885 | 31,719,200 | 36,250,530 | 40,781,828 | 45,313,143 |
| 1903..... | 3,826,443 | 5,978,817 | 9,566,107 | 14,349,161 | 19,132,215 | 23,915,269 | 28,698,323 | 33,481,377 | 38,264,481 | 43,047,485 | 47,830,539 |
| 1904..... | 4,027,834 | 6,293,491 | 10,069,587 | 15,104,380 | 20,139,174 | 25,173,967 | 30,208,761 | 35,243,554 | 40,278,348 | 45,313,141 | 50,347,935 |
| 1905..... | 4,229,226 | 6,608,166 | 10,573,066 | 15,859,599 | 21,146,132 | 26,432,660 | 31,719,198 | 37,006,731 | 42,292,264 | 47,578,797 | 52,865,331 |
| 1906..... | 4,430,618 | 6,922,840 | 11,076,545 | 16,614,818 | 22,153,090 | 27,691,363 | 33,229,636 | 38,767,908 | 44,306,181 | 49,844,454 | 55,382,727 |
| 1907..... | 4,632,009 | 7,237,515 | 11,580,024 | 17,370,036 | 23,160,049 | 28,950,061 | 34,740,073 | 40,530,086 | 46,320,098 | 52,110,110 | 57,900,123 |
| 1908..... | 4,833,401 | 7,552,189 | 12,083,502 | 18,025,255 | 24,167,007 | 30,208,759 | 36,250,511 | 42,292,263 | 48,374,015 | 54,375,767 | 60,417,519 |
| 1909..... | 5,034,833 | 7,866,864 | 12,586,983 | 18,880,474 | 25,173,966 | 31,467,457 | 37,760,949 | 44,054,440 | 50,347,932 | 56,641,423 | 62,934,915 |
| 1910..... | 5,236,184 | 8,081,538 | 13,090,462 | 19,635,693 | 26,180,924 | 32,726,155 | 39,271,386 | 45,816,617 | 52,361,848 | 58,907,079 | 65,452,311 |
| 1911..... | 5,437,576 | 8,496,213 | 13,593,941 | 20,390,912 | 27,187,882 | 33,984,853 | 40,781,824 | 47,578,794 | 54,375,765 | 61,172,736 | 67,969,707 |
| 1912..... | 5,638,968 | 8,810,887 | 14,097,420 | 21,146,130 | 28,194,841 | 35,243,551 | 42,292,261 | 49,340,972 | 56,389,682 | 63,438,392 | 70,487,103 |
| 1913..... | 5,840,359 | 9,125,562 | 14,600,899 | 21,901,349 | 29,201,799 | 36,582,249 | 43,802,699 | 51,103,149 | 58,403,597 | 65,704,049 | 73,004,499 |
| 1914..... | 6,041,751 | 9,440,236 | 15,104,379 | 22,656,568 | 30,208,758 | 37,760,947 | 45,813,137 | 52,865,326 | 60,417,516 | 67,969,705 | 75,521,895 |
| 1915..... | 6,243,142 | 9,754,911 | 15,607,858 | 23,411,787 | 31,215,716 | 39,019,645 | 46,823,574 | 54,627,503 | 62,431,433 | 70,235,361 | 78,039,291 |
| 1916..... | 6,444,534 | 10,069,585 | 16,111,337 | 24,167,006 | 32,222,674 | 40,278,343 | 48,334,012 | 56,389,681 | 64,445,349 | 72,501,018 | 80,556,687 |
| 1917..... | 6,645,925 | 10,384,259 | 16,614,816 | 24,922,224 | 33,229,633 | 41,537,041 | 49,844,448 | 58,151,858 | 66,459,266 | 74,766,674 | 82,074,083 |
| 1918..... | 6,847,317 | 10,698,933 | 17,118,295 | 25,677,442 | 34,236,591 | 42,795,739 | 51,354,884 | 59,914,035 | 68,473,183 | 77,032,331 | 85,591,479 |
| 1919..... | 7,048,709 | 11,013,608 | 17,621,775 | 26,432,662 | 35,243,550 | 44,054,437 | 52,865,325 | 61,676,212 | 70,487,100 | 79,297,987 | 88,108,875 |
| 1920 ..... | 7,250,096 | 11,328,284 | 18,125,254 | 27,187,881 | 36,250,508 | 45,313,135 | 54,375,762 | 63,438,389 | 72,501,016 | 81,563,643 | 90,626,271 |
| 1921..... | 7,451,492 | 11,642,958 | 18,628,733 | 27,943,100 | 37,257,466 | 46,571,833 | 55,886,200 | 65,200,561 | 74,514,933 | 83,829,300 | 93,143,667 |
| 1922..... | 7,652,884 | 11,957,631 | 19,132,212 | 28,698,319 | 38,264,425 | 47,830,531 | 57,396,637 | 66,962,744 | 76,528,850 | 86,094,956 | 95,661,063 |
| 1923..... | 7,854,275 | 12,272,306 | 19,635,691 | 29,453,537 | 39,271,383 | 49,089,229 | 58,907,075 | 68,724,921 | 78,542,767 | 88,360,613 | 98,178,459 |
| 1924..... | 8,055,667 | 12,586,980 | 20,139,171 | 30,208,756 | 40,278,342 | 50,347,927 | 60,417,513 | 70,487,098 | 80,556,684 | 90,626,269 | 100,695,855 |
| 1925..... | 8,257,059 | 12,901,655 | 20,642,650 | 30,963,975 | 41,285,300 | 51,606,625 | 61,927,950 | 72,249,275 | 82,570,600 | 92,891,926 | 103,213,251 |
| 1926..... | 8,458,450 | 13,216,329 | 21,146,129 | 31,719,194 | 42,292,258 | 52,865,323 | 63,438,388 | 74,011,453 | 84,584,517 | 95,157,582 | 105,730,647 |
| 1927..... | 8,659,842 | 13,531,004 | 21,649,608 | 32,474,409 | 43,299,217 | 54,124,021 | 64,948,826 | 75,773,630 | 86,598,434 | 97,423,238 | 108,248,043 |
| 1928..... | 8,861,234 | 13,845,678 | 22,153,087 | 33,229,628 | 44,306,175 | 55,382,719 | 66,459,263 | 77,535,807 | 88,612,351 | 99,688,895 | 110,765,439 |
| 1929..... | 9,062,614 | 14,160,335 | 22,656,567 | 33,984,850 | 45,313,134 | 56,641,417 | 67,969,701 | 79,297,984 | 90,626,268 | 101,954,551 | 113,282,835 |
| 1949..... | 13,090,460 | 20,453,844 | 32,726,151 | 49,089,226 | 65,452,302 | 81,815,377 | 98,178,453 | 114,541,528 | 130,904,604 | 147,267,679 | 163,630,755 |
| 1999..... | 23,160,044 | 36,187,569 | 57,900,111 | 86,850,166 | 115,800,222 | 144,750,277 | 173,700,333 | 202,650,388 | 231,600,444 | 260,550,499 | 289,500,555 |

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or, in the terms of the Bill, thirty-seven hundred and fifty-six hundredths (37.56) miles. In the future this will probably vary but little from the past; though it is liable to be more, rather than less. Sailing vessels, and steamers of less trial speed than 14 knots, were to be compensated at the lowest rate; namely, "one and one-half cents per gross ton for each one hundred nautical miles for the first one thousand five hundred nautical miles sailed both outward and homeward bound, and one cent per gross ton for each one hundred nautical miles over one thousand five hundred nautical miles sailed both outward and homeward bound." As additional rates are to be paid to faster steamers of certain sizes, the tendency would be to thrust aside sailing vessels and slow steamers, so that the average rate of "compensation" might be increased. But, to begin with, the average vessel may be assumed to be qualified to command a "compensation" one grade higher than that fixed for the lowest, that is, the rate due to a "14 to 15 knot" vessel, which is one cent per gross ton more than that due to vessels reckoned as under 14 knots. For a voyage of the average distance this would amount, in all, to 82.62 cents per ton:

| | Hundred Miles. | | Rate per Ton. | | Cents per Ton. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General { ..... | 15. | × | 1.5 | = | 22.5 |
| ..... | 22.56 | × | 1. | = | 22.56 |
| Additional..... | 37.56 | × | 1. | = | 37.56 |
| Whole rate..... | | | | | 82.62 |

If the entire marine were American, the cost for 1900, calculating 48,751,333 tons at 82.62 cents per ton, would be $40,278,351. If the American share of vessel movement should be 8 per cent, the Government expenditure would be $3,222,268. This trifling sum, to begin with, is well calculated "to delude the nation by an airy phantom." But the table on page 86 shows where the figures will end, if the calculation be carried to its logical conclusion.

If the year 1900 should start with a proportion of vessel movement of 8 per cent American, we may reasonably expect it to be increased, under the law, to 12½ per cent in 1901; to 20 per cent in 1902; to 30 per cent in 1903; and so on, attaining to 80 per cent in 1908. If this should be the case, then the sum expended to that time would have already amounted to $200,689,344; if 80 per cent of vessel movement continued to be American until the year 1929, inclusive, the expenditure for the period 1900–1929 would amount to $1,680,918,435; and for the century, at the same rate, the sum would reach *thirteen and a*

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*quarter billions.* If a maximum of 50 per cent should be reached in 1905 and maintained, the total expenditure for the period 1900–1929 would amount to $1,090,608,719, and for the century to more than *eight and a quarter billions.* A maximum of only 20 per cent reached in 1904, and maintained, would make the cost for the period 1900–1929, $449,241,776, and for the century nearly *three and a third billions.*

But there is another side to the question. It is highly improbable that a marine thus developed will remain long at the maximum point; the chances being that the American percentage will decrease as soon as the supply of "compensation" lessens. As no contracts with the Treasury are to be made after ten years have elapsed, the period of maturity will not be long protracted, probably not more than four or five years. After that time we should be likely to sink to the starting-point. We are not without experience in the matter of maintaining a marine without the protection which developed it, or in that of continuing subsidized lines after the subsidies which sustained them have been taken away. Other nations have had experiences like our own. The French found themselves obliged to continue their bounty system for a second term. In every instance there have been retrogression, failure, and ruin. Our shipping interest has died out for want of the essential conditions of life and growth. If Government money shall now supply these conditions, life and growth can be assured only while the conditions last. This is the order of nature and the teaching of all experience.

The provisions for discontinuing Treasury support—limiting contracts to ten years and "compensation" to twenty years—arising from economic misgivings, stamp the Hanna-Payne Bill as inexpedient, illusive, and unphilosophical. By its very provisions it is acknowledged that cost is the limit of improvement and of restoration. An avoidance of expenditure taints the measure with meanness and worthlessness. A farmer cannot increase the richness of his soil and save his manure at the same time.

It will be of interest here to recall the fact that, shortly before Congress adjourned, certain amendments to the Hanna-Payne Bill were proposed in a new measure introduced by Senator Frye. Of these amendments, one provided for a limitation of the expenditure in any single year to $9,000,000. When mileage claims aggregated more they were to be pro-rated. Of course, such a restriction must be looked upon not as a stimulant to the growth of the marine, but as a

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preventative against national bankruptcy. We could probably afford to pay out $9,000,000 a year forever, whether it did any good or not; but a restriction on our own recuperative powers of trade is ridiculous. With this amendment, the Hanna-Payne and the Frye Bills become inconsistent and deceptive. By hedging and dodging, avoiding and evading, our follies are only made the more clear.

Thus it may be shown by the test of cost alone—not to speak of others—that no form of national bounty can fully solve the problem of an American marine in the foreign trade. The commerce of the country is already too vast to have its carrying-trade commanded by national expenditure. The people will simply not pay the taxes. Thirty years ago, when shipping rehabilitation began to be mooted, $9,000,000 would have compensated, under the Hanna-Payne Bill, the entire marine in our foreign trade. A century later the sum would have reached $211,000,000! Besides, we must not forget that every branch of our foreign trade is in the clutch of a foreign shipping trust. Only regulations of trade can overthrow these combinations. Bounties cannot do it.

But, if Government expenditure is not a fit and proper means of ship protection, why are we to delude the country and waste its wealth? Why not find and adopt an expedient and befitting way? A proper method of development is one that provides for the maintenance of work that has been accomplished, and such was the philosophy of our early policy.

Our regulation of the domestic trade costs us nothing—nothing but the wit and resolution to maintain it, no matter if wiseacres criticise, or rivals and enemies object. The regulation of our foreign trade, so that our own shipping shall survive without preying upon the Treasury for millions by the score, might prove a test of manliness and resolution; but, if it should, where is the true American who would shrink from it? "Compensation" is nothing but tribute-money; it confesses the vassalage of the United States. Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute to any power on earth, was once the sentiment of the American people. No bill originating in cowardice can be made a fit foundation for public good. Our Government should have the courage to return to the policy of the fathers, that is, to such practical measures for the regulation of our carrying-trade as were once enforced, and at first were successful in creating and maintaining a commerce and navigation distinctively American, without the cost of a cent to the American people.

WILLIAM W. BATES.

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## VOTING-MACHINES *VERSUS* THE PAPER BALLOT.

At the election held in the city of Rochester on November 8, 1898, voting-machines were used instead of the paper ballot. The election progressed smoothly; the polls closed at 5 P.M.; and the complete returns for the whole city, which were unanimously accepted as conclusive, were announced thirty-seven minutes later. The city of Rochester now owns its own machines, and intends to hold all its elections with them in the future.

In 1896, a similar election was held in Hornellsville, where machines were first successfully used in presidential elections. These machines are owned by the town, and have been used there satisfactorily in five elections since. The returns were received in Rochester, in the election of last November, within ten minutes after the polls had closed in Hornellsville. The results in Jamestown, Fredonia, and Waverly have also been most satisfactory.

These elections were held under the provisions of the laws of the State of New York. Similar laws have been passed by the States of Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, California, Massachusetts, Nebraska, and Indiana.

The change from the paper ballot to the machine has been urged, primarily, to avoid errors in voting and in the count. When the illiterate man votes a paper ballot he may or may not mark it correctly. There is but one way to mark it right, and a multitude of ways to mark it wrong, any one of which may throw out his whole vote. With the machine, on the other hand, he can vote in one way only, and that the right way. With the paper ballot he can make errors both of commission and of omission; not so with the machine.

The machine sets the voter definite limits, beyond which he cannot go; and with this protection he will seldom fall short of the exercise of his full voting privilege. He knows he cannot overdo it. Where the law says vote for one, he cannot vote for two. Where the law says vote for five, he cannot vote for six. It is the universal rule in auditing ballots that, as long as the voter's intention can be ascertained, the

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ballot must be counted. Thus, when the law says vote for five and the voter makes five selections, a vote must be counted for each of these candidates. Should he vote for four only, his vote would still be counted. But, if he votes for six, his intention is unknown, and the whole vote is thrown out. The machine prevents this last case from arising. This means that every vote cast will be counted; nothing being left to the judge's decision. The voter's own act counts his vote when he casts it; and when he is on the point of making a mistake, the machine, always on guard, stops him.

Contrast this infallibility of the machine with the following: At the election of November, 1898, in New York County, 4,389 blank and defective ballots were cast. Of these, 2,623 were total blanks, and the remaining 1,766 were wholly thrown out because of mistakes in marking. In 1897, the number of void ballots cast for mayor alone was 6,657. Had machines been used none of these mistakes could have been made. The importance of this accuracy is always great; and it becomes tremendous when national issues are dependent upon very small majorities, as in 1884, when the State of New York, which decided the presidential election, was carried by a majority of 1,047. That, moreover, the liability to error keeps many independent voters from scratching is a well-known fact.

The voting-machine is, primarily, a counting-machine, or, rather, a combination of counting-machines. It consists of three parts: (1) the keyboard, with one key for each candidate, and two—a "yes" and a "no" key—for each question; (2) the counters—one for each key; and (3) the interlocking mechanism, which limits the number of keys that can be operated in any one office group—the candidates of all parties for one office. The machine is operated by a small gate or lever which swings in both directions. It is unlocked by the movement of the gate, in a certain direction, before the voter indicates his ballot on the keyboard; while a movement in the opposite direction casts the ballot indicated, and at the same time resets and locks the keys.

When a ballot is cast it is counted at once by the voter himself; for the total vote on the counter for each candidate is advanced one step by the act. The voting is done in the privacy of the booth; and when the keys of the machine have been reset for the next voter, the identity of the preceding ballot is completely destroyed. Consequently, the secrecy of the ballot is absolutely assured.

Without entering into a detailed description of the construction of

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the machine, I wish to say that provisions have been made for all possible contingencies. Not only is the voting of a straight ticket a simple affair, but the mechanism is so adjusted that a scratched ticket can be voted as easily as if the voter were marking a ballot with his pencil. He cannot vote for more than a specified number of candidates, because, when the full vote has been cast for any one group of candidates, all the remaining keys of that group are found to be locked; and when all the ballots have been cast every key on the machine has become immovable.

But can mechanism be made so reliable as to be trusted with the important function of counting the ballots? This question can be best answered by reference to analogous apparatus, such as cash and fare registers, and particularly the Hollerith tabulating-machines,[1] used in the census of 1890. The latter not only counted the people of the country, but also summarized, for the first time in our history, the details of the schedules of the census enumerators. From the standpoint of speed the operations of the latter machines proved truly remarkable. Under the older systems the results were not completed until the time to take a new census had almost arrived. With the Hollerith counting-machines the returns for the whole city of St. Louis were tabulated in five hours and twenty-eight minutes. For the country at large, the last returns of the enumerators reached the Census Bureau on November 10; and the population of the country was announced by the Bureau on December 12. Moreover, not only were the results obtained with almost incredible speed, and accepted without a doubt as to accuracy, but the method was attended by a saving of nearly one million dollars.

As to accidents, registers generally have been so much improved that one never hears of a breakdown. Of all such registers the voting-machine is the most reliable. Springs are entirely dispensed with; and the construction of each part is so strong that it is needless for the voter to attempt to tamper with it.

Again, the machine is supplied with levers which may be so adjusted by the judges of elections that the voter cannot cast a ballot which he is not entitled to vote. For example, in certain localities a failure to pay the poll-tax debars the citizen from voting on questions involving the expenditure of money, as well as for certain candidates. When one appears who has failed to pay this tax he will

[1] The Hollerith machines are fully described in vol. xii, page 521, of the "Electrical Engineer."

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find the respective keys locked against him. (It would be an easy matter to provide each machine with a nickel-in-the-slot attachment, so that each delinquent could pay his poll-tax at the time of voting, if he wished.) Another lever locks the keys of candidates for which a woman is not entitled to vote. The machine has also a free-ballot device, which permits the voter to exercise his constitutional right to vote for candidates who have not been nominated by any party.

When the judges declare the polls closed the gate is locked fast in its outward position; and by this means all the push-keys are locked, so that there can be no tampering with the machine or any further voting. The machine is now turned around; and in full view of the crowd, two cameras are focussed on the keyboard where the counters are exposed; flash-light photographs are taken; and the judges call off the totals to the clerks, who make a record of them. Messenger boys convey the results in haste to the telegraph office. Within fifteen minutes every precinct in the city has reported; and in less than an hour the newspaper bulletins show the complete returns for city and county.

Singularly enough, as I have already stated, there have been no disputes over the returns; and, what is still more satisfactory, the vote has been unusually heavy. The returns have shown that nearly every voter votes a full ticket. In the last election with Australian ballots, the scratched tickets were so badly marked that many of them had to be thrown out entirely; and in one ward a judge was accused of marking the ballots during the count, so as to invalidate them. In consequence, the returns were some five per cent below what was to be expected from the number of votes cast.

Among the objections to the introduction of voting-machines the cost has been frequently mentioned. In fact, however, elections are held much more cheaply with the machines than under the old method. It has been estimated that, for the city of Rochester, the saving at an election would amount to $5,040. Calculating the cost of the machines at $36,500—the price of a machine is $500—they would be paid for in seven elections. It is estimated that in the city of Minneapolis the machines would more than pay for themselves in four elections. But the cost is not the only, or even the main, thing to be considered. If we bear in mind that the machines retain all the virtues and exclude all the vices of the old methods of balloting, their use would be warranted even if they should entail additional expense.

FRANK KEIPER.

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# AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS AND THE WHEAT PROBLEM.

From the days of Malthus we have been periodically assured, by a certain class of economic writers, that the time when the soil could not supply food for the world's population was in sight. Starting from the irrefutable proposition that increase of population in geometrical ratio, if unchecked, must in the end give the earth a population beyond its ability to feed, these writers have attempted to fix the time, within a year or a decade, when this condition will obtain. In thus attempting to assign a definite limit to the period of plenty, however, they seem to accept, as the only factor in the problem, the mere numerical increase in population. They fail to recognize what are equally potent factors; namely, the increase in the knowledge, power, and resources of mankind. When man has reached his highest possible intellectual development, when he has conquered all the forces of nature, when all the paths of science have become to him the highways of every-day life, when, in short, he has reached that stage of perfection which, to the limited vision we now enjoy, seems little short of omnipotence, then only will it be possible to determine coolly, by mathematical calculation, the food-limit of existence upon this globe.

With those who profess the belief that the period of universal hunger is rapidly approaching, a favorite theme for discussion, in recent years, has been the relation—present and future—between the production and consumption of wheat. This, of course, is but one branch of the whole, broad subject. Even if it were certain that the limit of wheat production had been reached, this would not necessarily indicate the beginning of the final struggle for existence; for we must not leave out of consideration the possibilities in the way of dietetic substitutions. Moreover, even in the matter of wheat, the observers referred to overlook certain facts which have baffled, and will continue to baffle, our efforts to determine the final limit of its production.

The most recent and notable claim of a speedily approaching deficiency in the world's wheat production was put forth by Sir William Crookes, President of the British Association for the Advancement of

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Science, at the annual meeting of that body last year. His contention is, that the available area of the world's wheat-growing land is being very rapidly absorbed, and that, in about a generation, owing to the growth of the wheat-eating population, the chief present exporting countries will not be able to do more than provide for their own wants; leaving nothing for export to countries which do not grow their own supply. To support this position, he quotes definite figures of the population of wheat-growing countries at certain periods, and gives, with what he evidently considers equal exactness, figures purporting to be the aggregate area, in the world, devoted to wheat at those periods. The estimates of the world's wheat area, not only in the past, but at present, are deserving of but limited credence; especially when sweeping conclusions are sought to be drawn from mere comparisons of assumed totals at different times. In only a few of the wheat-growing countries has there been any attempt, except in recent years, to keep records of annual variations of acreage. To show that even the available data are very inaccurate, I need simply call attention to the fact that our own Department of Agriculture found it necessary to admit, in 1897, that the wheat acreage previously announced for this country—and used in the construction of aggregates similar to those upon which Sir William relies—was short by at least 5,000,000 acres; *i.e.*, by more than 16 per cent.

It is not profitable to discuss conclusions, as to population and acreage, based upon data representing little more than mere assumption, at least so far as the earlier periods are concerned. It is fully as unprofitable to offer equally indefinite testimony as to the possible acreage of the different quarters of the globe suitable for wheat production. It may be well, however, to point out, in these and similar calculations, an error so great as entirely to vitiate the conclusions.

It seems to be tacitly assumed, by most writers on this subject, that the average rate of acre yield of wheat is nearly stationary. Acreage is accepted as the whole basis of calculation, apparently in the belief that the present rate of yield represents the full capacity of the world's soil, and that a larger wheat crop can be secured only by devoting a larger acreage to the crop. In the calculations usually presented it is figured that the present population requires a certain number of acres in wheat to furnish its daily bread; that one or two decades hence the population will have increased by a given percentage; and that the wheat-bearing acreage must be enlarged, in like ratio, if wheat is to hold its position in the daily ration. The possi-

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bility of increasing the returns, from a given acreage, through the more general application of scientific methods to agricultural production, seems entirely lost sight of; though, occasionally, the failure of some hard-and-fast prediction to materialize, leads to the explanation that "above average" yields have temporarily postponed the verification of the prophecy.

It is not difficult to demonstrate, that the potentiality of an average acre of wheat land is steadily increasing, and that the ratio of increase is large enough to make it an important factor in the calculation of future bread-supplies. A comparison of the rate of yield of one year with that of another, or even of longer periods, will not disclose the changes that have actually taken place, unless the weather conditions, in the periods compared, happened to be the same. The rate of yield depends upon the fertility of the soil, the skill of the cultivator, and the character of the season. Of these factors the first two are, to a considerable extent, subject to modification; but the third is yet beyond our power. Consequently, to determine the actual change in potentiality of our wheat acreage, from one period to another, we must eliminate the factor of varying weather conditions. Fortunately, the records of the United States Department of Agriculture furnish the necessary data.

Each year statistics concerning the acreage and average rate of yield, by States, are collected by this Department; and, during the growing season, figures are given, from time to time, representing the "condition" of the crop. The plan is a simple one. A crop in which the plant has suffered no damage of any kind, either from weather, insect enemies, or other causes, is designated by the figure 100, which therefore represents the full capacity of the soil. To estimate the actual condition the Department deducts from the ideal a percentage sufficient to equal the damage which the crop has suffered from all causes. The required information upon which to base this estimate is furnished by the large number of expert observers located in various parts of the country, who, from time to time, make detailed reports to the Government. The final Government report is made at harvest time; and the figure then given shows what percentage of the soil's capacity may be expected in the yield. When the actual yield is known, it is a simple matter to calculate what it would have been if all conditions had been perfect. In this way the changes in capacity, from time to time, would become manifest.

Beginning with the Department's records for 1880, and compar-

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ing the wheat percentage for each year, as reported at the time of harvest, with the actual yield, we find a steady increase in potentiality. The figures are shown in Table No. 1.

TABLE No. 1.

| | Condition when Harvested. | Yield per Acre. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Actual Rate, Bushels. | Full Potential, Bushels. |
| 1880 | 92.0 | 13.1 | |
| 1881 | 73.0 | 10.2 | |
| 1882 | 100.0 | 13.6 | |
| 1883 | 83.0 | 11.6 | |
| 1884 | 98.0 | 13.0 | |
| Average 1880–84 | 88.8 | 12.3 | 13.9 |
| 1885 | 72.0 | 10.4 | |
| 1886 | 87.8 | 12.4 | |
| 1887 | 82.0 | 12.1 | |
| 1888 | 77.3 | 11.1 | |
| 1889 | 87.5 | 12.9 | |
| Average 1885–89 | 81.9 | 11.8 | 14.4 |
| 1890 | 75.5 | 11.1 | |
| 1891 | 96.9 | 15.3 | |
| 1892 | 85.3 | 13.4 | |
| 1893 | 74.0 | 11.4 | |
| 1894 | 83.7 | 13.2 | |
| Average 1890–94 | 82.8 | 13.0 | 15.7 |
| 1895 | 75.4 | 13.7 | |
| 1896 | 74.6 | 12.4 | |
| 1897 | 85.7 | 13.4 | |
| 1898 | 86.7 | 15.3 | |
| Average 1895–98 | 80.9 | 13.8 | 17.1 |

It will be noticed that the producing capacity of our wheat land increased .5 bushel per acre between the first and second periods; 1.3 bushels between the second and third; and 1.4 between the third and fourth. In the period 1880–84 the maximum capacity per acre averaged 13.9 bushels: in the period 1895–98 the average was 17.1 bushels—an increase of 3.2 bushels per acre, or 23 per cent, in less than twenty years.

Since 1890, the weather conditions have not been nearly so favorable as they were during the period 1880–84. Indeed, in only one



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year, 1891, has the season been such as to give a hint of the actual change in potentiality. If the present season should prove to be only as good as the average season of the period 1880–84, the yield, with the 45,000,000 acres now under wheat, would reach 684,000,000 bushels; while such a season as that of 1882 would mean a crop of nearly 770,000,000 bushels. A series of years with conditions as favorable as those experienced from 1880 to 1884, inclusive, would give us a wheat production large enough to meet the requirements of our increased population, and to leave a surplus for export of 260,000,000 bushels a year, against the 140,000,000 shipped annually from the crops of 1880 to 1884. As we may reasonably expect that nature will be as gracious in the future as in the past, it seems that any alarm over our own wheat-supply in the near future would be absolutely unnecessary.

To account for this increase in the potential yield of our wheat fields, many factors must be taken into consideration. Among these may be mentioned: improved methods of ploughing; tile drainage; the use of drills in seeding, especially the press-drill, which results in greater immunity against winter-killing; crop rotation; and, to a very small extent, fertilization. An important factor to be mentioned in this connection is the change in the distribution of the acreage under wheat consequent upon falling prices. A decline in the price of wheat rendered its production unprofitable where the rate of yield was small. Gradually, these lands were passed over to crops better suited to them; while, at the same time, the wheat acreage was increased in districts having a better rate of yield. The extent to which the increase of potentiality may be attributed to this cause is not definitely known; but an examination of further records of the Department of Agriculture will prove of interest in the matter.

In this connection, a division of the States into four groups, in accordance with their potentiality, as arranged in the accompanying tables, cannot fail to be instructive. Table No. 2 represents the period 1880–84, when the average potentiality for the entire country was 13.9 bushels per acre. The two striking facts brought out in this and the succeeding tables are: (1) that the acreage, both relatively and actually, has decreased since then in the States where the rate of yield was smallest, the loss having been made good by a corresponding increase in the acreage of the States which have shown a larger rate of yield; and (2) that there has been a steady increase in the potential yield of each group.

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TABLE No. 2.

| | Condition when Harvested. | Acreage. | Bushels. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 10 Bushels : | | | |
| Virginia | 93.0 | 917,801 | 8,004,300 |
| North Carolina | 92.2 | 723,543 | 4,765,163 |
| South Carolina | 82.4 | 207,032 | 1,226,546 |
| Georgia | 81.2 | 492,916 | 3,101,113 |
| Florida | 80.0 | 88 | 415 |
| Alabama | 83.4 | 264,414 | 1,538,904 |
| Mississippi | 84.8 | 45,762 | 242,753 |
| Louisiana | 85.0 | 1,900 | 6,425 |
| Arkansas | 82.2 | 217,095 | 1,448,114 |
| Tennessee | 87.2 | 1,246,206 | 8,138,280 |
| Total | 87.9 | 4,116,757 | 28,472,013 |
| Between 10.1 and 13.8 Bushels : | | | |
| Rhode Island | 95.0 | 28 | 360 |
| Delaware | 90.2 | 97,678 | 1,145,617 |
| Maryland | 96.8 | 623,130 | 8,038,396 |
| Texas | 83.6 | 432,363 | 4,076,562 |
| West Virginia | 96.0 | 402,660 | 4,394,658 |
| Kentucky | 89.4 | 1,235,670 | 11,895,506 |
| Wisconsin | 90.4 | 1,597,368 | 19,495,007 |
| Iowa | 82.0 | 2,698,357 | 27,140,441 |
| Missouri | 88.8 | 2,323,404 | 25,764,007 |
| Nebraska | 87.8 | 1,771,779 | 20,173,795 |
| Arizona | 100.0 | 16,172 | 224,640 |
| Total | 87.7 | 11,198,629 | 122,348,989 |
| Between 13.9 and 15.8 Bushels : | | | |
| Maine | 92.0 | 43,379 | 580,721 |
| New Hampshire | 100.0 | 11,483 | 166,920 |
| New Jersey | 97.6 | 156,197 | 2,132,573 |
| Pennsylvania | 96.8 | 1,503,785 | 20,415,176 |
| Indiana | 87.6 | 2,814,359 | 37,754,872 |
| Minnesota | 93.0 | 2,822,227 | 36,892,079 |
| The Dakotas | 102.3 | 760,160 | 11,734,000 |
| New Mexico | 94.0 | 64,312 | 854,980 |
| California | 92.2 | 2,681,110 | 36,394,440 |
| Total | 92.7 | 10,857,012 | 146,925,761 |
| 15.9 Bushels and above : | | | |
| Vermont | 100.6 | 21,293 | 357,805 |
| Massachusetts | 96.7 | 1,149 | 19,344 |
| Connecticut | 97.0 | 2,183 | 41,663 |
| New York | 90.6 | 778,624 | 11,272,640 |
| Ohio | 86.0 | 2,780,721 | 39,766,815 |
| Michigan | 87.0 | 1,895,302 | 28,294,853 |
| Illinois | 80.4 | 2,979,465 | 38,921,531 |
| Kansas | 88.2 | 1,891,890 | 26,666,820 |
| Montana | 93.4 | 51,369 | 867,800 |
| Wyoming | 95.0 | 1,605 | 25,100 |
| Colorado | 93.0 | 91,544 | 1,752,060 |
| Utah | 97.0 | 81,546 | 1,440,880 |
| Nevada | 103.7 | 7,186 | 131,267 |
| Idaho | 100.0 | 42,942 | 726,900 |
| Washington | 96.7 | 182,513 | 3,000,140 |
| Oregon | 98.4 | 761,217 | 13,006,224 |
| Total | 86.6 | 11,570,549 | 166,291,842 |

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Maintaining the same grouping of States the totals for the other periods under review are as follows:

| | 1885–89. | | 1890–94. | | 1895–98. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Acres. | Bushels. | Acres. | Bushels. | Acres. | Bushels. |
| Group 1..... | 3,760,762 | 24,509,000 | 3,260,289 | 25,403,000 | 2,703,829 | 26,505,000 |
| Group 2..... | 9,461,386 | 104,982,000 | 7,316,868 | 88,883,000 | 7,169,405 | 97,932,000 |
| Group 3..... | 13,736,038 | 163,236,000 | 14,995,869 | 193,469,000 | 16,334,753 | 224,700,000 |
| Group 4.... | 9,863,224 | 142,736,000 | 11,202,257 | 168,505,000 | 11,868,717 | 175,865,000 |
| Total..... | 36,821,410 | 435,463,000 | 36,775,283 | 476,260,000 | 38,076,704 | 525,002,000 |

The preceding table shows a marked uniformity in the aggregate acreage for each period. The changes in the distribution of the acreage, in percentages, have been as follows:

| | 1880–84. | 1885–89. | 1890–94. | 1895–98. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group 1..... | 11.0 | 10.2 | 8.9 | 7.1 |
| Group 2..... | 29.6 | 25.7 | 19.9 | 18.8 |
| Group 3..... | 28.7 | 37.3 | 40.8 | 42.9 |
| Group 4..... | 30.7 | 26.8 | 30.4 | 31.2 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The "condition" and the actual rate of yield when harvested, in each group, for the various periods, are shown in the following table:

| | 1880–84. | | 1885–89. | | 1890–94. | | 1895–98. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Condition. | Yield, Bushels. | Condition. | Yield, Bushels. | Condition. | Yield, Bushels. | Condition. | Yield, Bushels. |
| Group 1..... | 87.9 | 6.9 | 80.8 | 6.5 | 82.5 | 7.8 | 91.1 | 9.8 |
| Group 2..... | 87.7 | 10.9 | 82.8 | 11.1 | 83.5 | 12.1 | 82.3 | 13.7 |
| Group 3..... | 92.7 | 13.7 | 81.7 | 11.9 | 82.0 | 12.9 | 81.9 | 13.8 |
| Group 4..... | 86.6 | 14.4 | 81.7 | 14.5 | 83.6 | 15.0 | 76.3 | 14.9 |
| Average. ... | 88.8 | 12.3 | 81.9 | 11.8 | 82.8 | 13.0 | 80.9 | 13.8 |

Using the basis 100 as representing the potentiality of the first period, it appears that the potential yield of each group, for each period, was:

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| | 1880–84. | 1885–89. | | 1890–94. | | 1895–97. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Bushels per Acre. | Bushels per Acre. | Per Cent of 1st Period. | Bushels per Acre. | Per Cent of 1st Period. | Bushels per Acre. | Per Cent of 1st Period. |
| Group 1..... | 7.8 | 8.0 | 103 | 9.5 | 122 | 10.8 | 138 |
| Group 2..... | 12.4 | 13.4 | 108 | 14.5 | 117 | 16.6 | 134 |
| Group 3..... | 14.8 | 14.6 | 99 | 15.7 | 106 | 16.9 | 114 |
| Group 4..... | 16.6 | 17.7 | 107 | 17.9 | 108 | 19.5 | 117 |
| Average... | 13.9 | 14.4 | 104 | 15.7 | 113 | 17.1 | 123 |

The question as to how much of the increased efficiency of the average acre is due to the weeding out of the fields of low yield, and how much to actual improvement in the yield of the same land, cannot, as I have stated, be definitely determined. Nevertheless, it is evident that the latter is the more important factor; for, had the distribution of the acreage among the different groups in the period 1895–98 been the same as in the period 1880–84, the average of potential yield would have been 16.9 bushels instead of 17.1—a difference of only .2 bushel per acre. As the increase of 3.2 bushels is accounted for by the actual improvement in State averages, it is clear that the result is largely due to the improved methods employed in wheat-growing.

With diminishing prices for wheat, rural progress in this country has added more than 23 per cent to the potential yield of an acre in less than twenty years. In most other wheat-growing countries the present methods of production are not even as good as those followed by us in 1880. Other growers, however, will follow in our footsteps when the prices offer the proper inducement.

The increase in acre yields, in this country, has only begun. Practically, all that has been accomplished during the period under review may be attributed to improvements in implements for preparing the soil and planting the seed. Wheat is grown, year after year, without rotation—except in a few cases—on a third or more of our wheat acreage; not one acre in fifty is directly fertilized for the crop; and only a minimum amount of attention is given to seed-wheat and to betterment of seed-stock. If, in the face of what cannot be considered less than careless and inefficient agricultural practice, we have increased the wheat capacity of our land by 3.2 bushels per acre in so short a time, what may we not expect, in the way of enlarged acre yields, before we experience the hardships of a true wheat famine?

BERNARD W. SNOW.

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# RECENT EVENTS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

To obtain a clear idea of the meaning of some of the present interesting manifestations in South Africa, it is necessary to look back to the beginning of the century to find their original source.

South Africa, as we know it to-day, was partially settled by Dutch immigrants, under the surveillance of the Dutch East India Company. Their part in the settlement was by no means a leading one; yet to them is due the credit of proving that South Africa is a country where white men can live and thrive, and carry to the savages the rudiments, at least, of that civilization which has so often proved both a blessing and a curse to them.

When, in 1814, after two conquests, the Cape of Good Hope was finally ceded to England, it was inhabited by what may be called a new race. Not only had a century and a half of life, under new conditions, changed the temper and characteristics of the original Dutch settlers, but a mixture of their blood with that of another race had also served to modify the type. For Huguenot refugees, in considerable numbers, had flocked to the Cape in search of the religious freedom denied to them at home; and though their wishes were not entirely fulfilled, yet the conditions were sufficiently favorable to induce them to make South Africa their permanent home.

In the patronymics of many prominent Dutch families to-day—such as Joubert, Celliers, and de Villiers—there is evidence of the infusion of Huguenot blood; and the influence of such infusion on the character of the composite race, known as Boers or Dutch Africanders, has been as real and lasting as it has been on their nomenclature. For the cradle of their race these people have but little attachment. The conditions of their life had been too hard; and, as to any later amelioration thereof, they owed so little to the good-will or kindness of Holland that they did not long retain any sentimental attachment for her.

The British occupation, then, found South Africa inhabited by a people but little suited to a strict, bureaucratic government. Indeed, their experiences had taught them that the less they had to do with

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any government, and the further they were removed from government officials, the better it would be for them. With this feeling strongly developed, and further accentuated by the fact that, for a short time previously, under the last Dutch occupation, they had enjoyed a measure of self-government, they were none too ready to accept the administration of British colonial officials of the type and spirit of the men whose views and attitude had, only a few years before, divided the Anglo-Saxon race, by goading into independence the United States of America. They had already become partially nomadic. Many of them, tired of the Company rule and weary of the Company service, had left the settlements; and, "trekking" northward, they had won for themselves homes in the wilderness. In 1837 occurred the "Great Trek," which produced the two Boer republics to the north. The crisis of their discontent had been brought about by the liberation of their slaves. The liberation, though nominally accompanied by compensation to slave-owners, was, in fact, so badly managed, that many farmers were reduced to penury and the most serious dissatisfaction was created in the minds of all.

The difference in the attitude of the man at home and the "man on the spot" toward the native has always been, and still is, though in a lesser degree, a fruitful cause of friction between the Briton at home and the Briton—colonial- or home-born—abroad. Public opinion in the mother-country, on the various colonial questions, is always necessarily formed through information received from the missionary. And the latter, in his zeal, having preached the equality of the "black brother"—not only before God, but also, and in every respect, before man—there cannot but be a great gulf, on at least one point, between home and colonial opinion. The fact that, in the time of the Dutch East India Company, their fathers had lived under much worse conditions did not weigh with the Boers; and, seeing no chance of improving their position by force of arms, they decided to trek to the north, where they hoped to find better and easier conditions of life.

The history of the "Great Trek" has yet to be written; and it is certainly worth the writing. With all its squalor, its perils, its daily dangers, its humble heroisms, it was yet a splendid evidence of the persistence of the Frisian blood, still under alien skies, running true in the veins of the Trekkers. Their ideal was impossible of realization. They sought a "lodge in some vast wilderness;" but, in the nineteenth century, the Old World has no sympathy for the wilder-

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ness. They found that, wherever they went, British power and influence were sure to follow. That, however, British protection was not resented by all concerned is evident from the fact that the withdrawal of British power from the Orange Free State was very much deplored.

The part of the continent which is called, somewhat ostentatiously, the South African Republic has had a very checkered career. Situated far inland, on land desolated by periodic droughts, far distant from any market, and surrounded by powerful native tribes, its inhabitants have lived a hard, isolated life of poverty. An overflowing exchequer was never known to their Government; and, in 1877—with twelve shillings and sixpence in their treasury, with a debt of £215,000 and no means of raising funds, with the people divided among themselves and no man strong enough to face the situation—they seemed to be in a hopeless plight. There was no crime or violence. The anarchy was a peaceful one, but, apparently, none the less hopeless. Their President, Burgers, a man of high character, whom they had imported to preside over their Government, addressed the "Raad" (Legislative Assembly) as follows:

"I would rather be a policeman, under a strong government, than the President of such a state. It is you—you members of the Raad, and the Boers—who have lost the country, who have sold your independence for a drink. You have ill-treated the natives; you have shot them down; you have sold them into slavery; and now you must pay the penalty.

"To-day a note for £11,000 was laid before me for signature. But I would rather have cut off my right hand than sign it; for I have not the slightest ground to expect that, when it comes due, there will be a penny to pay it with."

All thoughtful observers had decided that a change of some kind was absolutely necessary. The existence of a poor, weak, impotent state, doomed to extinction by surrounding native tribes, would only render the more possible the obliteration of the white man in South Africa. But what was to be the nature of the change? Sir Y. Shepstone cut the Gordian knot by annexing the country, in the name of Great Britain. To this course every one agreed except the Boers themselves—those most concerned, and at the same time the least able to understand their desperate condition. Therefore, with some sullenly acquiescing and others openly protesting, they formed an element of danger which the military officials, bound in red tape, were not more able to appreciate than they were competent to handle.

The era of prosperity and expansion which followed served, for

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a short time, to eradicate the political discontent. Gradually, however, the feeling became widespread that the country, rather than the Government, had inspired the confidence of investors and immigrants; and it was not long before the malcontents began to assert themselves. But, finding that appeals for the restoration of their independence produced no result, they finally, in 1881, decided to resort to arms. If the promises made by Shepstone when he annexed the country had been fulfilled, the demand for retrocession would, no doubt, have received but little support. To say that the agitation was organized and fostered by a few men only, is to say simply what is true of all similar agitations. That its outcome was successful merely proves that its organizers had many grievances which, in the long run, were bound to receive recognition.

The discontent, then, culminated in 1881, in the War of Independence, when the British arms sustained severe defeat. While reënforcements were being pushed to the front peace was offered, which was eventually concluded. As a result self-government was given to the inhabitants of the country; while the suzerainty of Great Britain was practically expressed in the convention of 1881—reference to which was omitted in the convention of 1884. The provision, which is still in force, stipulates, that no treaty into which the South African Republic may enter with foreign states shall be valid until it has received the approval of Great Britain. The relations created between the Boers—the descendants of the voortrekkers—and the Uitlanders—the later comers—may be best shown by the following dialogue, which is an extract from the report of the discussion at the conference which preceded the signing of the convention.

Mr. Krüger. "There will be equal protection for all."

Sir E. Wood. "And equal privileges?"

Mr. Krüger. "*We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned.* There may perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country."

Had this declaration of intention been expressed in the convention, in set terms, the present trouble could never have arisen. But the convention—which Mr. Gladstone's Government characterized as an agreement between two equally generous nations, the one strong and magnanimous, the other weak and brave—was interpreted by the Transvaal Government in a pettifogging spirit; and bit by bit the rights of Uitlanders were whittled away. The franchise, which, in 1881, was obtainable after a twelve months' residence, was, at the

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beginning of this year, practically not obtainable at all; for, when a fourteen years' residence—including a period of probation, during which he incurred all the responsibilities of citizenship, but did not enjoy all its privileges—had qualified the applicant, the consent of two-thirds of the burghers and the approval of the Government were still required. Consequently, it is generally felt by the Uitlanders, that it has been the intention of the Government to restrict the franchise to one privileged race.

For some years after the retrocession the country was fairly prosperous; the revenue just about balancing the expenditure. But, in 1887, owing to the discovery of gold at Barberton, a decided change for the better began to manifest itself; the revenue leaping from £236,584 for the last nine months of 1886 to £668,433 for the year 1887. From that time on there was a steady increase until, in 1896, the total revenue amounted to £4,462,194. The discovery of gold, first in the quartz reefs at Barberton, and later in the unique, conglomerate deposits at Johannesburg, rendered the future progress of the republic certain; and if the rulers had been as wise as nature had been generous, there would have been no burning political question in the Transvaal to-day.

Liberal as were the terms of the convention of 1881 the Boers were in nowise satisfied with them. They objected to such clauses as Art. 2, in which external relations were denied; Art. 3, in which their power to deal with natives was limited; and Art. 19, in which encroachment on the boundaries of their neighbors was entirely forbidden.

The result of their dissatisfaction was the convention of 1884, in which, as I have already stated, there was no mention of suzerainty, and which was generally more favorable to the Boers than that of 1881. Yet, in the same year, in defiance of all agreement, a raid, unofficially authorized by the Government, was made westward into Bechuanaland; and the ground was only yielded when Sir Charles Warren took out an expedition. In the same year, taking advantage of a quarrel between two of the petty kinglets, who had been appointed by Great Britain after the conquest of the country, a raid was made into Zululand; and the most fertile part of that country—whose inhabitants would probably have exterminated the Boers had it not been for British conquest—was annexed to the Transvaal. That the whole of Zululand was not taken must be attributed to England, which refused to allow such wholesale annexation. The object, however, of these raids was twofold: (1) a desire for the extension of

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territory; and (2) a wish to secure for themselves an open road to the sea.

From 1882 to 1892 there was no serious demand for the franchise and no great anxiety for reform. The country was rich; and most of the new settlers were making too much money to care for reform. There was still, however, great need of the latter; for the administration was going from bad to worse, while the concessions granted for the construction of railways and for dynamite were sure to work havoc in later years.

Although, in 1884, President Krüger, when in London, published an invitation to immigrants, there has never been, on behalf of the Government, any effort to develop the natural resources of the country, or in any way to improve the "condition of the people." For many years even the building of railways was opposed, on the ground that the occupation of the carrier by ox-wagon would be thereby sacrificed. It was, however, finally sanctioned, in 1884, in order that the desire of the Boers to have an independent road to the sea might become gratified.

The tendency of the administration from 1881 to 1895 may, perhaps, be best illustrated by quoting the demands made, in 1895, by the body known as the Transvaal National Union—an indiscriminate body, composed of capitalists, professional men, merchants, and workingmen anxious to secure political reform. Their demands were formulated as follows:

1. A constitution safeguarded from hasty change. (It had become a common practice to make alterations in the written constitution, with no more formality than that required for ordinary Volksraad legislation.)

2. An equitable franchise law and fair representation. (The stringency of the Franchise Law has been already explained. The districts where the bulk of the Uitlanders, and indeed of the entire population lived, were only given such representatives as the number of resident burghers entitled them to have.)

3. Equality of the Dutch and the English languages. (The language employed in over 90 per cent of the business transactions is English; and the same may be said of the conversation; yet the official language of the country is High Dutch, which very few of the burghers understand, speaking, as they do, a local patois.)

4. The heads of the Government department to be responsible to the legislature. (The members of the Executive have no seat in the

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Volksraad; and the Minister of Mines—surely the most important official in such a country as the Transvaal—has no seat in the Executive.)

5. Removal of religious disabilities. (Catholics and Jews are not allowed to hold Government appointments.)

6. Independence of the courts.

7. Liberal and comprehensive education.

8. Free trade in South African products.

When it is stated that the Civil Service was utterly incompetent and almost utterly corrupt; that the bribery of Volksraad members was a common practice; and that, in addition to the long-standing liquor, dynamite, and railway concessions, others had been applied for, it will be seen how urgently reforms were needed. Petition after petition had been sent to Pretoria, only to be rejected. Efforts had also been made to influence the parliamentary elections; but a law had been passed rendering the formation of Uitlander Election Committees illegal. Consequently, every avenue of approach was closed. Progressive members, so called, having "ratted," again and again, it was decided to make one final appeal; and, in 1895, a monster petition, which was signed by nearly 40,000 people, was sent to the Government by the National Union. The petition, however, was rejected, by a considerable majority, on the motion of a member, who said, "If they want the franchise let them come and fight for it." So closed the first chapter in the efforts of the Uitlanders in the interest of reform.

After this last, most serious rebuff, it was felt, and naturally so, that the crisis called for a new policy; and the men who had so resolutely struggled to secure reform by peaceable agitation did not shrink from the alternative. It was decided to appeal to force; and the closing days of 1895 saw Johannesburg—and Johannesburg only—peacefully in the hands of the Reform Committee. To tell how that movement failed, and how the incursion of Dr. Jameson—who, with his little troop, sought to raise the revolutionary banner, instead of seeking to help the men of his blood, rightfully struggling for freedom—ruined the cause of the Reformers, would be to tell a thrice-told tale. Pretoria, with Jameson and his men prisoners, held all the cards; and it was never disclosed that Jameson, before surrendering, had bargained for the safety of the lives of all his men. The Boer Government, with characteristic diplomacy, had made the laying down of arms the prime condition of Jameson's safety. Arms were laid down,

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however, only on the recommendation of the High Commissioner, who promised consideration of grievances; and with this slender promise the Reformers had to be content.

How utter was their failure, the Reformers were soon to discover; for, when sixty prominent citizens, who had been put in prison, were released, after humiliating negotiations, they found that instead of an amelioration of their conditions, the grievances were actually to be increased. In these early days President Krüger found himself in an apparently impregnable position; and had he been astute enough to give such economic reforms as would have satisfied the capitalists and the speculative classes, he and his race would have been firmly seated in the saddle for another twenty years. Under such circumstances these classes would have detached themselves from the political reformers, who had become disheartened by their recent failure. This, however, was not to be. On the contrary, the oppressive Press Laws, Alien Immigration Laws, and Alien Expulsion Laws, following in rapid succession, showed how Mr. Krüger interpreted his promise to "forgive and forget;" and the granting of a new municipality to Johannesburg—which was in every sense less well equipped for self-government than had been the previous Sanitary Board—proved that there was to be no reform in administration. However, one gleam of hope was given to the men, who were now almost in despair. When the repressive Alien Immigration Law had been passed, a British fleet was promptly sent to Delagoa Bay; and when Great Britain, as the paramount power in South Africa, undertook to demand the repeal of the law, the request was promptly granted.

When the men who had so long worked for reform found that all appeals, both to reason and to force, had failed them, they had not much heart to begin again. Moreover, many of them were of that number who had won release from Pretoria only by promising to abstain for three years from taking part in politics in the Transvaal. Anglo-Saxons, however, can never consent long to remain political Helots; and, in the latter part of 1896, there was formed the South African League—a political organization which is destined to play an important part in the political development of South Africa. Its objects were few and simple; viz., (1) the maintenance of the existing British supremacy in South Africa; and (2) the establishment of good government in, and good relations between, the various South African states.

In Natal, Cape Colony, and the Transvaal—provinces absolutely

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independent of each other and differing from each other in policy and management—leagues were formed, through adherence to the above demands, which bound these provinces firmly together. The bulk of the work was done by the men of the Transvaal province; but generous support was always accorded to them by their colleagues of Natal and the Cape. The latter provinces, however, performed very important work. When it is considered that men of all parties are agreed as to the desirability of the ultimate federation of the various South African states, either on dominion lines or on lines of independence, it will be seen how important was the calling into existence of a linked, progressive, democratic organization, agreeing on certain definite lines of action.

At first, and until more or less complete victory was in sight, the membership of the League in the Transvaal was drawn from the professional and working classes. The wealthy men took no part in the movement, nor did they give any sign of encouragement; although they sympathized with the aims of the Reformers and approved of their methods.

That poor men should neglect their business, without endeavoring to enrich themselves, was naturally incredible to the press; and the League, therefore, carried on its work under a continual storm of misrepresentation and abuse. Pages might be written of their struggles, their mistakes, their poverty, their enthusiasm, and their unswerving faith in their cause and its ultimate triumph. Suffice it to say, they saw the only logical course. Appeals to the English Government—which was responsible for the conventions, framed to secure equality and liberty—had failed in their object; corruption and bribery were rampant in every public department; inefficiency and insolence were met with at every turn; retrogressive legislation was the order of the day; public works were neglected; natural education was a farce; and nothing was being done by the Government to develop the resources of the country. Judged from whatever standpoint, the rule of the Boers had been a failure. For the country they had done nothing; they had done less than nothing for the "stranger within the gates;" and, in eighteen years of independence, the condition of the Boers was worse, not better.

Matters were precipitated when a British subject, named Edgar, was shot down—on his own threshold, and under the eyes of his wife—for resisting the unlawful entrance of a policeman who sought to arrest him, without a warrant, simply for throwing a drunken man.

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The policeman claimed he had been under the impression that the latter had been seriously assaulted.

To people at a distance the affair may seem trivial; but to men on the spot, who saw the little ruined home, and felt how symptomatic was the incident of the whole situation, it served as the spark to explode the magazine. The agitation, which has gradually led to the present situation, then began. The first step was the sending of a petition to the consul in behalf of 5,000 men who had been arrested on a charge of contravening the Public Meeting Law, and released only on furnishing bail to the extent of £1,000. The feeling rose still higher when meetings held by British subjects were broken up by organized bands, led by government officials; even such officials as public prosecutors participating.

A further cause of agitation was the fact that the murderer of Edgar was not only discharged, but praised by the judge upon his release. When Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa, in reviewing the situation, said, that "the case for intervention was overwhelming," the movement became more general; and it was felt by all that the end was near. Nor was the movement limited to the League; for, at great public meetings in the towns and at the mines representatives were appointed, from men of all classes and of all nationalities, to a body now known as the Uitlander Council. For the first time in its history Uitlander Johannesburg stood firm and united.

A statement of the demands of the Uitlander Council, made in June, 1899, will again illustrate how serious were the grievances of the people:

1. Legislation by mere Volksraad resolution to be abolished.
2. Equitable franchise law and fair representation, with redistribution scheme.
3. English and Dutch languages to be official.
4. Reorganization of the Civil Service.
5. High Court to be independent. (At present the Judges of the High Court are required, under pain of dismissal, to respect any resolution of the Volksraad, however hastily it may have been passed. This demand was the direct result of an action in which an American subject obtained damages against the Government.)
6. Reform of education.
7. The cancellation of monopolies. (In addition to the long-standing liquor, railway, and dynamite monopolies—the last two of which

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are said to represent a permanent tax of from £600,000 to £1,000,000 per annum upon the country, although conducted almost solely in the interest of the monopoly holders—there are now monopolies engaged in the manufacture of cocoa, calcium carbide, soap, candles, matches, brushes, etc.)

That it should be necessary, at the close of this century, in any civilized country, for white men of education and ability to ask for these rights may well seem incredible. That they should ask for them in vain seems impossible.

Redress having been promised by the British Government, it will, without doubt, be secured. And it is only when the demanded concessions are granted that the South African Republic will prove worthy of its name. Then, with its independence guaranteed by the paramount power, and strengthened internally by free institutions, may it fulfil its mission as a free country, and prepare to take its place as a free member of the coming South African Confederation.

THOMAS R. DODD.

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## THE PHILADELPHIA COMMERCIAL MUSEUM.

When, a few years since, the excellence of American manufactured goods began to be recognized abroad and the demand for them began to make itself felt, the American manufacturer found himself confronted with serious obstacles, the most important of which was his lack of familiarity with foreign trade conditions and requirements. In this respect his principal competitors—the English and the Germans—had the advantage over him ; having for a generation been engaged in acquiring information which would enable them to invade foreign markets with success.

To meet the emergency of the manufacturers of our country the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia was organized. In both aim and results the institution is unique. Other countries, also, have their commercial museums, which are doing excellent work. Their scope, however, is much more limited ; the Museum of Philadelphia differing from them in that it is an active, not merely a passive, aid to the prospective exporter. The foreign museums, situated in London, Bremen, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Vienna, Havre, Brussels, and various other commercial centres, do not extend active aid, but content themselves with more or less complete displays of samples of domestic and foreign competitive goods sold in export markets. The theory of their organization is, that the manufacturer, contemplating a foreign business campaign, will be enabled to pursue it intelligently through the study of these samples. The initiative is left to the exporter himself, who must discover what opportunities exist for him abroad ; and it is also left to him to take advantage of his opportunities in the way that may seem best to him.

The display of manufactured samples is only a small part of the work of the Philadelphia Museum. This institution shows not only what goods are sold in foreign markets, but also where those markets are, what commercial conditions obtain in connection with them, what particular kinds of goods they demand, how these markets may be best competed for, and where the raw material may be most profitably purchased. It furnishes information, furthermore, as to business con-



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nections as well as the credit ratings of the agents or firms recommended. To secure specific information it is not necessary to visit the institution itself; for reports of trade opportunities abroad are distributed by the Museum to its members; and these reports are provided with photographs of many of the articles which, at that particular time, are in demand, in certain parts of the world. Under these circumstances, the exporter is practically provided with a staff of expert, foreign representatives, without any expense to himself beyond the merely nominal fee for membership.

While its activities are dependent to a certain extent upon the income derived from subscribers, the Museum is not a money-making institution. Indeed, its income from this source does not cover half the expenditures. It is enabled to carry on its work only by reason of the generous, annual appropriation provided for it by the City Councils of Philadelphia. But a very large income is required to maintain a staff of 150 employees in Philadelphia, as well as 500 regular and several thousand occasional correspondents scattered throughout the world. The only advantage which the city itself derives from the Museum is that resulting indirectly from the presence of foreign buyers attracted to Philadelphia by the Museum's work.

The work had its inception during the closing days of the Chicago Exposition, when the City Councils of Philadelphia appropriated a sum to be used by the writer in purchasing a part of the exhibits. It had occurred to him that the city of Philadelphia had lost a golden opportunity, at the close of the Centennial Exposition, to inaugurate such a display; and he felt that a second opportunity should not be lost. Fortunately, several public-spirited men of Philadelphia were in sympathy with the idea. As originally planned, the institution was to consist of a group of museums—ethnological, pedagogical, archæological, general, and commercial. The pressing necessities of the day, however, have forced the commercial feature to the front; so that the others, for the time being, have been more or less obscured.

The Museum is directed by a Board of Trustees composed of fourteen leading citizens, chosen for life, and the following *ex-officio* members: the Governor of the State, the Mayor of Philadelphia, the President of the Select Council, the President of the Common Council, the President of the Board of Public Education, the Superintendent of the Philadelphia Public Schools, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the State Forestry Commissioner. The immediate management is intrusted to a Director and a staff of expert

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assistants. Coöperating with the Board of Trustees are two other important bodies; namely, the Home and the Foreign Advisory Board. The Home Advisory Board consists of delegates from leading commercial organizations throughout the country, whose advice is sought from time to time. The members of the Foreign Advisory Board, who are expected to keep the Museum in touch with the requirements of international trade, are chosen from leading foreign boards of trade and other commercial organizations.

The members of these Advisory Boards meet in Philadelphia, at intervals of two years. The projected meeting in October, of this year, has developed into the International Commercial Congress, to be held, in connection with the National Export Exposition, under the auspices of the Commercial Museum. The Exposition will be open from September 14 to November 30. The Congress will begin its sessions on the 10th of October and continue them for two weeks. This event, unique in the commercial history of our country, promises to be of the greatest significance to American export interests. Acceptances already received indicate that 500 delegates, from all parts of the world, will be present.

Space will not permit me to enter into the details of the work of the various departments; but a few words, in this connection, may be of interest to the general reader. Broadly speaking, there are three departments: (1) the Educational; (2) the Museum Proper; and (3) the Bureau of Information.

1. The educational feature is confined, more or less directly, to instruction in commercial geography. During the fall and winter months free lectures, illustrated by samples of the products of different countries, are given to teachers and students in the commercial and other high schools. In addition, students of different schools visit the institution at regular intervals; being escorted through the exhibit halls by competent guides. In the near future, the development of this phase will probably be extended along the lines of higher commercial education. In fact, the opportunity is at hand for the establishment of a consular and diplomatic school, whose purpose would be to equip young men with such a knowledge of our needs as would enable them efficiently to represent our commercial interests abroad.

2. The department of most interest to the general public is the second—the Museum Proper. The exhibits, which occupy a great deal of space, are arranged in a twofold way: the monographic—the grouping together of similar products of different countries; and the

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geographic—the grouping together of the different products of individual countries. No efforts are spared by the management to make each collection as complete as possible. Where the material is sufficiently abundant the two methods are combined. Thus, in the Mexican display one room is devoted exclusively to the different varieties of Mexican fibres, while in adjoining rooms are grouped the remaining products of that country.

The Argentine exhibit consists largely of untanned hides, of wools in the fleece—of which there are a great many varieties—and of valuable samples of grains and woods. Brazil's display includes coffee, tobacco, and rare and valuable woods. From the nature and arrangement of the exhibits the man of affairs can very readily tell which, if any, of them will be of assistance to him in turning out a better or a cheaper product. The Museum's representatives are always able to give the desired information as to the cost of the items represented in the display and the means of obtaining them. Though the collections are intended, primarily, to benefit American manufacturers, they are reciprocally of value to foreigners, who thus become acquainted with America's needs. The interest in the institution so awakened leads them to keep their displays constantly up to date.

In addition to the raw materials, finished products of foreign make are displayed. These are intended to give the American manufacturer the opportunity to compare both cost and quality, so that he may know whether he can compete for the markets for which they are made. Particular attention is given to goods sold in South America, Africa, and the Oriental countries, where the products of American manufacturers seem to have excellent prospects of making their way. Perhaps the most valuable of the displays, from the manufacturer's point of view, is the section containing the different varieties of footgear sold in South American countries, and of headgear, cloth, cutlery, etc., intended for the same and other countries. Each sample is accompanied by a tag indicating the place where the article is made, its cost, and its selling price. By studying the character of these samples the manufacturer may also learn how the styles must be modified to suit the tastes of different peoples. Only those who are familiar with the strong prejudices of the natives, especially among people who have had comparatively little experience with the products of civilized countries, can realize the importance of this matter, upon which success or failure may depend.

In connection with this department there has been established a

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laboratory, where various kinds of products are analyzed for certain specific purposes. Some of the examinations are made at the request of manufacturers, while others are initiated by the Museum itself. In this, the institution is doing valuable work in a field that has heretofore received too little attention.

3. The Bureau of Information, whose purpose is to keep our business men in touch with the entire commercial world, receives its data from numerous sources. Among these may be mentioned :

First, the trade journals of different countries, of which some twelve hundred are regularly received at the Museum. As fast as they arrive they are turned over to a staff of readers versed in different languages, who cull from them what facts appear to be worth preserving. The information thus received is indexed by the card system. Matters calling for immediate attention are at once brought to the notice of those manufacturers for whom they may be of practical value. For example, if it should be learned that there was a special demand for harvesting machinery in Argentine or Australia, that fact is made known at once to manufacturers of agricultural machinery ; the report being accompanied by special directions concerning the ways of reaching the market indicated. Some 2,000 such notices are sent out in the course of a month ; and they frequently result in opening a new market to one or another of our manufacturers.

Second, the consular and other official reports of the United States and of foreign governments. Of these the Museum has a large collection. It has, in fact, a greater number of official reports and books detailing commercial information than has the Government at Washington. The development of a great commercial library is, of course, a matter of many years ; but the Museum already possesses one of the largest and best ordered commercial libraries in the world, and certainly the largest in the country.

Third, the reports of special representatives. The Museum maintains a corps of special students of trade conditions, some of whom are constantly at work in foreign countries, studying the markets in the interest of American exporters, and endeavoring to bring foreign governments and dealers in touch with the Commercial Museum.

Finally, the communications of the Museum's foreign correspondents—the representatives of reputable importing and commission houses abroad. The interest of these correspondents is usually maintained through a system of coöperation. It frequently happens that letters are received from strangers abroad asking for certain specific

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information. In such cases, the Museum, provided it is assured of the reliability of the writer, suggests an exchange of compliments whenever any particular information is desired. By this arrangement the Museum has succeeded in building up a staff of nearly 20,000 regular and some 60,000 occasional correspondents. About 125 clerks are employed at the Museum in carrying on this correspondence and in tabulating the information received. The distribution of information through circulars and the correspondence with subscribers are conducted by another department.

Important among the items of information sought by this bureau is that of the financial standing of commercial houses in foreign cities. The names of reliable foreign importing and commission houses are entered on a list, which is frequently revised and kept up to date. When a question concerning the standing of any concern arises, and the report proves to be well founded, the name of that firm is stricken from the list. That the Museum's work in the matter of credit-rating has been of considerable value is proved by the many testimonials to that effect received by the institution from American exporters.

Recently, the Museum has undertaken to furnish foreign concerns with a list of reliable American firms. These lists are made out on cards, carefully indexed, and placed in substantial wooden cases. Many of these cases have been shipped to foreign cities, where they have frequently been placed in the rooms of chambers of commerce and boards of trade. The mere fact that the lists are furnished by the Museum is accepted, in many localities, as a guarantee of their reliability. This is especially true of South America, where the Museum has come to be well known and highly appreciated.

It may be seen from the contents of this article that, although the Commercial Museum is, comparatively speaking, still in its infancy, its work is already beginning to show practical results. It has served to give the business men of America an unusual opportunity to acquire, in a very short time, a great deal of information concerning the markets of the world ; placing them in a position to compete successfully with those who, in the matter of experience, have had an enormous advantage over them.

W. P. Wilson.

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# THE YOUNGER RUSSIAN WRITERS.

RUSSIAN critics never cease lamenting the dearth of good literature. Turgeneff, Dostoyevsky, Pisemsky, Goncharoff, and Pomialovsky are dead; Tolstoy, the only survivor of the great constellation of the sixties and seventies, is a very old man and has "sworn off;" while the younger generation of novelists has so far failed to produce a single work of lasting value. The productions of the masters were inspired by the noble enthusiasms of their time: they were the æsthetic offspring of the abolitionist movement and of the renaissance which followed the emancipation of the serfs. "Does the poverty of our literature of to-day denote a lack of ideals?" ask the critics.

This literary famine, however, is limited to the novel; for the list of short story-tellers in Russia is considerable in length, and includes several men of uncommon power, some of whom deserve a place in the foremost ranks of modern authors. Of these younger Russian writers Vladimir Korolenko is, perhaps, the only one with whom English-speaking readers are more or less familiar; Chekhoff, Potapenko, Gorki, and Veresayeff being almost unknown in Anglo-Saxon countries.

All these are realists. Indeed, no other species of fiction would be considered literature in Russia, where the story of adventure and plot is looked upon as the æsthetic diet of children, and where "decadent" influences have never been able to obtain even a temporary footing. Lifelikeness clothed in the simplest forms of expression, and artistic sincerity reflecting the self-criticisms and the melancholy moods of the Russian people—which the critics have taught the public to exact from its story-writers since Pushkin—are still the *sine qua non* of literature.

"One thing is immortal in art as well as in life, and that is *truth*," reads a recent testimonial addressed to Modest Ivanovitch Pisareff, the St. Petersburg actor. "The love of truth is the hall-mark of real talent. You, Modest Ivanovitch, are truly Russian in your art. The whole character of our nation, with all our merits and faults, rises lifelike in your artistic interpretation. The stormy passions of the Russian's soul, his reckless pluck and abandon, his self-lashings and his sadness—the characteristic sadness of the Russian people—all this has found in you a fruitful and talented im-

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personator. You are one of those to whom the truth is dearer than applause. Guard it, then, from all that is insincere and garish."

The testimonial was signed by some of the leading Russian writers of to-day ; and the note which rings through it is the keynote of the Russian short story as well as of the Russian drama.

The list of living authors, omitting the name of Count Tolstoy, is headed by Vladimir Galaktionovitch Korolenko and Anton Pavlovitch Chekhoff ; and the relative standing of these two men, better than anything else, perhaps, illustrates the general literary situation of their country. Korolenko is popular for his views on the social question ; Chekhoff, in spite of his having none.

The peculiar conditions under which Russian literature has grown up have brought about a close intimacy between the political ideals of the cultured classes, on the one hand, and their fiction, on the other. Silenced by the censor, the reformer is forced to call upon the novel to convey his message. This is the characteristic feature of Russian letters. It involves a point of view which countries otherwise circumstanced may find it difficult to appreciate, and that accounts for the unusual seriousness with which the educated Russian takes his fiction.

No nation has a theory of art so clearly defined, nor one so firmly imbedded in the traditions of the intelligent classes, as is the theory which forms the underlying principle of Russian criticism ; and one of the essential points of this theory is, that a work of art must also be a work of education. "Art for art's sake" is out of the question in a country where the poem must take the place of the editorial, and where the story-teller, who does not make his fiction a criticism of life, is looked upon as something like a public officer who betrays his trust.

A literary creed such as this would seem to be fatal to art, and the fiction based upon it doomed to degenerate into that species of sermon-novel which is a bad sermon and a worse novel. Yet, so far as Russia is concerned, the curse has turned out to be a blessing. Sermonizing is just what the censor will not allow ; so the novelist must try to make his pictures talk, to let life expose its own wounds. For, like those well-bred ladies of whom Thackeray tells us that they did not mind looking at the trousers of hundreds of men, though they would have been shocked to hear the word uttered, the censor, as a rule, does not prevent a subject of the Czar from painting a spade, but he will not let him call it by its name.

To make a story such a vehicle of expression two things are necessary. It must be a faithful transcript of life, and it must be a work of

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art ; that is, not a dead "protocol" of events, nor yet a series of retouched photographs, but a picture vivified by the breath of genius and carrying the illusion of pulsating reality. A "purpose novel," where the sails of the narrative are trimmed to suit the wind which blows in the direction of the author's preconceived moral, is in Russia in far worse odor than it is here. Indeed, this sort of fiction usually defeats its own "purpose;" for it is prevented, by its artificiality, and made-to-order effect, from directing attention to the phase of life in question, so that, instead of exclaiming, "How true!" the reader exclaims, "Oh, it's only a story!"

"A work of art," says Dobroluboff, the great critic of the sixties—those palmy days of the Russian novel—"may be the exponent of an idea, not because the author conceives this idea upon addressing himself to his task, but because he has been struck by those facts of life from which the idea follows as a natural inference. . . The office of literature is one of propaganda, and its value depends on what and how it propagates. . . Thinking, as we do, that to educate is the chief function of literature, we require of it one thing, without which it can have no worth whatever, and that is truth."

This is the sum and substance of the literary doctrine which holds sway over the great Northern Empire. Like Molière's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," who was agreeably surprised to discover that what he had spoken all his life was prose, Russia had been writing realism long before she was acquainted with the term. While in France, for example, this school of fiction made its appearance in the natural course of literary evolution, in Russia it was forced upon the enlightened classes by the political conditions of their country.

In the above sense Turgeneff was a propagandist. His every novel was written with a purpose ; and yet they are anything but "novels with a purpose," as the term is used in American and English criticism. Turgeneff's works are the artistic incarnation of social ideas ; so are Pisemsky's, Tolstoy's, Dostoyevsky's, Ostrovsky's ; and so are the stories and sketches of Vladimir Korolenko.

Korolenko is of an affectionate, self-sacrificing nature. He thinks the present order of things in his country unjust, and his heart goes out to every victim of it. He has suffered for the sympathies which form the groundwork of his art ; and the public and the critics love him as much for his sacrifices as for his talent. In short, Korolenko is a radical; and the "facts of life which strike him" most keenly, and which he portrays in his works, are such as, according to the critics, contain his advanced views. Not so Chekhoff, who is neither a radical nor a conservative, but a man without convictions, who writes for no

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other "purpose" than the pleasure which he takes in his work. As a result, the applause which his genius received in the early days of his career was half-hearted and accompanied by howls of disapproval.

He made his bow to the public in the latter part of the eighties as a writer of short sketches for newspapers; and he had not been known a year, before it became evident that a great, new star had appeared on the literary horizon of Russia. But then he was a man without social ideas; so the critics took a tone with him which made it appear as if they begrudged him his powers and challenged his title to them. That he has overcome all the obstacles in his way to fame, and has been universally recognized as the greatest master of the Russian short story and the most powerful living writer in his country after Tolstoy, is one of the proofs of the magnitude of his genius.

Speaking of Chekhoff's earlier sketches, Skabichevsky, in his "History of Recent Russian Literature," remarks that they

"reveal a vigorous talent and bristle with art and humor, but suffer from one vital shortcoming, and that is their lack of a unifying idea. The author abandons himself to fleeting impressions which he hastens to convey within the space of some two hundred newspaper lines. The upshot of it is that next to a heart-wringing life-drama he will offer you a series of vaudeville scenes obviously written for the sole purpose of making his readers laugh. His longer stories, as, for example, 'The Steppe' and 'Flames,' are characterized by the same kaleidoscopic quality and by the absence of any central idea."

Since 1892, when the above passage was written, Chekhoff has taken himself more seriously. His "Ward No. 6," where a country physician—a lonely thinker and passionate reader, misunderstood by his neighbors—is locked up as a madman by his rival physician; "The Black Friar," which portrays the picturesque hallucinations of an overworked professor and his misery upon recovering from his blissful megalomania; "The Butterfly," which is the quiet tragedy of a good-natured man of science married to an unsuccessful painter, who, unable to appreciate her husband's gifts and the importance of his work, is abandoned to the recklessness of Bohemian life till she violates her plighted troth; "The Kiss," which a shy bachelor received in a dark room from a charming woman, who mistook him for her lover, and the tragic-comic effect it had upon his psychology; "The Peasants," where the grim truth of village life in Russia is laid bare—these and many other short stories and sketches are irresistible works of art, strong, deep, true, and beautiful. But they, too, are devoid of "underlying ideas;" and so, while the critics have come to agree that the appearance of a new story by Chekhoff is an important event in the

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literary history of Russia, they still frown upon him as a kind of political heathen.

Nicolai Constantinovitch Michailovsky, the leading critical authority of the present generation, who is one of the irreconcilable literary enemies of the younger master, points to the following passage in "A Dull Story," by Chekhoff, as true of the author himself.

"In all my ideas and feelings of men and things," says the hero of the narrative, "there is a lack of that unifying something which might link them into an organic whole. Each sensation and each thought lives in me by itself, and all my reasonings upon science, literature, the drama, as well as all the images in my mind, are detached and independent of one another; so that the most ingenious analyst would fail to discover in them that which is called 'unifying idea' or 'the God in the living man.' Now, where this is lacking all real interest in life is lacking."

"Chekhoff has talent and the power of observation," declares Michailovsky, "but he lacks 'that which is called unifying idea or the God in the living man.' This is the key to the riddle why we all, who respect his gifts, are firmly convinced that he will never develop them to the full extent of their potential vigor."

The hero of "A Dull Story" and his author are representatives of a type which is quite common in Russia and Poland. Turgeneff has portrayed several varieties of this *Hamlet* of our times in his stories; and Sienkewitcz has made him the subject of his best psychological novel, "Without Dogma." As to Chekhoff, his "Dull Story" is not the only production in which his leading character is a man without a dogma. Several of his other tales have this type for their central figures. The rest treat of other types; each story "living by itself," and all of them reflecting the state of mind which is characteristic of their time.

Another critic who finds fault with Chekhoff's social views observes apropos his "Peasants:"

"But Chekhoff becomes a really remarkable master when, casting all ideas to the winds and obeying his artistic instincts alone, he sets out to paint life in his own objective and simple way. It is a long time since Russian literature congratulated itself upon the appearance of a piece of art like 'The Peasants.'"

Verisimilitude, then, is a first consideration; and no amount of cleverness and fine writing can atone for the lack of it. To win the attention of the educated Russian, it is absolutely necessary that the author should have the gift of making things seem real. Chekhoff possesses this gift in a marvellous degree. One of the striking features of his stories is their absolute naturalness. Korolenko, Potapenko,

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Gorki, and a score of lesser lights are endowed with a sense of character and can draw a lifelike picture; but Chekhoff, of all Russian writers of the younger generation, seems to tell a true story. It is impossible to read half a dozen sentences in any of his tales without beginning to feel that all was only spirited gossip about people with whom author and reader are personally acquainted. Chekhoff seems to be too keenly interested in these people, and too anxious to tell you about them, to indulge in a prettily turned phrase, a jest, or a piece of rhetoric. Indeed, his works teem with irresistible humor; his style is a model of grace; a few simple words sketch off the character so that it lives and moves before the reader; and, above all, almost every sentence exposes to view some interesting nook of the human soul. But all these results are achieved in a most casual way. The author enjoys his gossip too intensely to be aware of his own cleverness.

The stories mentioned, except "The Peasants," have been selected, because they belong to those of Chekhoff's productions in which something happens, so that the "point" or the simple little plot can be presented in a nutshell. The typical Chekhoff story, however, the one which shows his genius at its best, is so absolutely storyless that there is not enough even to fill a nutshell. From five to ten thousand words are bestowed upon the most trivial bit of every-day life. But then it is life itself, not a mere *réchauffé* of it; and the plain, hum-drum people and things, to whom nothing out of the ordinary happens, turn out to be thrillingly interesting.

The great point of Chekhoff's genius is his wonderful artistic memory for the caprices and fleeting trifles of reality—for the wanton dissimilarities as well as for the similarities of life. Almost everything the author says sets the reader wondering how it ever occurred to him to mention such a thing at all. It seems to have so little in common with what writers, good or bad, usually put in their descriptions or dialogues. It is one of those evanescent flinders of life which one can neither remember nor invent, and which are as fresh and unexpected, in every instance, as they are characteristic of the period and place to which they relate. His stories are full of these little surprises, and the illusion is entrancingly complete. Tolstoy is the only writer who possesses this quality in a higher degree for psychical analysis; but even he yields first place to Chekhoff in the description of external phenomena.

It is ordinary, commonplace conditions, too, which have furnished Korolenko, the humane prose-poet of Russian literature of to-day,

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with some of his most fascinating creations ; but, like Gorki, he sometimes departs from this realism *sans phrases* to write a species of fairy tales or fables. These, however, can hardly be called romance in the sense in which the term is applied to the novels of Crockett, Weyman, or Anthony Hope ; for while the English romancer will make it his business to put ordinary mortals through experiences that are anything but ordinary, the fantasies referred to deal with actualities under the guise of the supernatural, in common mortals masked as fairies, devils, or angels. Korolenko's "Judgment Day," which is a satire upon the government's discriminative policy regarding the Jews, is, perhaps, the best example of this class of realistic poetry. The devil of the story is a pretty human sort of devil, just as Makar's "Dream" of his experiences after death is quite a wakeful vision of throbbing earthly life.

Korolenko's natural bent seems to be in the direction of the mysterious and the weird. He is indisputably the greatest master of Russian composition since Turgeneff and Goncharoff. His style is rich in color and exquisitely finished ; but instead of the soft, enravishing splendor of Turgeneff's diction, it has a lethargic, uncanny glow which pleases but does not move. Were he an Englishman his art would, perhaps, have developed some of the qualities of Stevenson and Du Maurier. As it is, he often seeks for the quaint and the bizarre in real life ; now penetrating the depths of a "Rustling Forest" for a story of old serfdom days; now descending into the subterranean refuge of beggars to study the feelings of a boy "In Bad Company;" now ascending to the bell-tower of a village church where a superannuated, life-long "Bell-ringer" gasps his last amid the reverberations of his own chimes.

Korolenko is best known to English readers as the author of "The Blind Musician," which it is customary to call his masterpiece. This is scarcely fair to the gifted writer ; for, with all its high merits, this story is not altogether free from a certain premeditated effect which is absent from his other works, notably, "In Bad Company." This tale treats of life among the drink-crazed outcasts of a southern town, and of the touching friendship between the young son of the local judge and the sickly little daughter of one of the social waifs. Abandoned to his gnawing grief over the loss of his wife, the judge neglects his motherless boy; letting him roam around the streets, make excursions to the vaults of the abandoned castle, and visit the church where the tramps of the town find shelter. The lonely little nobleman thirsts for the caressing hand of a parent ; and in his yearnings he finds conso-

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lation in his secret devotion to the beggar girl. The story is thoroughly convincing, and offers a striking example of a disagreeable subject made beautiful through artistic truth inspired by human sympathy. The several outcasts in the story are among the strongest creations in modern literature.

Korolenko's later stories have all appeared in "Russkoye Bogatstvo" (Russian Riches), of which he and Michailovsky, the critic, are the editors. His contributions are rather far between. So are Chekhoff's. The most prolific of the noted writers of short stories is Ignati Nicolaïevitch Potapenko. This, however, has anything but an enviable effect upon his literary status. He has written several tales which should entitle him to a place in the front rank. "The Private Secretary of His Excellency" is an inimitable portrait of a man who wears out his nerves and dies of heart-failure; overworking himself for the glory of his worthless time-server of an employer; "Practical Common Sense" may not be a model of construction, but it is full of human interest and irresistible humor. Besides these two, Potapenko has written a dozen or so of other stories and sketches which have in them the elements of enduring literature; but all these are lost in scores of "potboilers" quite unworthy of his talent.

All his stories, without exception, are, however, extremely readable; and running through them all there is a chord of human sympathy and of an undimmed optimism, coupled with that spirit of criticism which is a necessary element of success in Russian fiction. Sometimes the humanitarian idea is given expression in a species of semi-idealized images, whose flesh and blood are of a questionable quality, as is the case in his "General's Daughter" and "Active Service;" at other times it betrays him into false notes like those which jar upon the reader of his story of newspaper life in Odessa; but in his happier moods he is free from all these faults. At his best he is very good indeed. Unfortunately, however, he is too often at his worst.

The clerical and the Bohemian world are his specialty; but he has a close acquaintance with almost every walk of life, particularly in the southern provinces; and the ten or twelve volumes of short stories he has published cover the widest range of type and circumstance. He has neither the tender-hearted poetry of Korolenko nor the divine clairvoyance of Chekhoff; but he knows the world thoroughly, and has a lively sense of its comedies and tragedies. One of the secrets of his wide popularity is his inexhaustible stock of most interesting themes. As the reader lays down a new story by Potapenko, he thinks it curi-

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ous that the subject should so long have been overlooked by literature. It seems just the thing to make a story of, and, at the same time, it is such a familiar phase of our every-day experience, that one cannot help wondering how it escaped the notice of all other writers.

As to Gorki and Veresayeff, they "arrived" so recently that their position has not yet been clearly defined. Both are endowed with the power of description, and both have sense of character; but while Veresayeff has attracted attention as a promising disciple of Turgeneff, Gorki has sprung into sudden prominence through his most original and extremely vigorous sketches of life among social waifs. His "unifying idea" strongly suggests Nietzsche.

Piotr Dmitrievitch Boborykin, who trains his literary camera upon the latest tendencies and fads of his country, and Dmitri Nikanorovitch Mamin, who hunts for "local color" among the tribes of the Ural Mountains and Western Siberia, are novelists. Both have the art of projecting their figures, and both are widely read—particularly Boborykin, who belongs to an older generation. But neither of them is capable of arousing enthusiasm in a country where the word novelist is associated in the public mind with the names of Tolstoy, Turgeneff, Dostoyevsky, and Goncharoff.

Of the young women who contribute stories to the leading magazines, Viera Mikoulich has attracted considerable notice. Other young writers, also, have done good work; and, like those mentioned above, they draw their themes from the actualities of their own environment.

The peculiar history of Russian literature, from Pushkin, Gogol, and Lermontoff down to our time, and the "characteristic sadness" and introspective, "self-lashing" propensities of the educated classes have developed a passionate interest in the artistic study of character and human motive. The five or six magazines published in the two capitals, and the influential newspapers of the Empire, give much space to this kind of literature. Not contented with the home product, they also print a translation of anything to be found in the way of realistic fiction in foreign countries; provided the realism is art, and the analysis is not a long-drawn-out discussion, but a "picture of the soul."

But then the Russian magazines will also give space to stories of foreign authors who are not realists. Generally speaking, they are far more tolerant with writers of the "decaying West" than they are with their own. They limit themselves, however, to the best repre-

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sentatives of literature in each country; so that, upon the whole, the fiction printed in the Russian magazines is of an unusually high order. This would not be the case, perhaps, if the magazine-reading public in Russia were as large as it is in countries where education is much more evenly distributed than it is in the dominions of the Czar. But the Russian monthlies cater to a small, intellectual minority—the circulation of the "Messenger of Europe," the best-established magazine in St. Petersburg, is, according to its own figures, from 7,000 to 8,000—and the average of tastes they have to deal with is exceedingly high.

The publications in question are all of the "Revue des Deux Mondes" type; each combining the elements of a review, such as THE FORUM, and a literary magazine. In Russia they are, broadly speaking, the substitutes for political parties. Not that the matter published is limited by any definite programme or necessarily colored by partisan bias—for, indeed, topics covering the widest range of thought are given fair and exhaustive treatment, and the fiction, though often saddled with a purpose, is in the majority of instances good literature—but the writers grouped about a magazine are, for the most part, banded together by the ties of political persuasion; and their belief, more or less directly advocated in special articles, crops out in the trend of the literary discussions as well as in the stories and the poetry.

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